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FOR 1938

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“ Knowledge, morality, art, the State, economics, all must become religious, not by external constraint but freely and from within. No theology can regulate the process of my knowledge from outside and impose a norm ; knowledge is free. But I cannot any longer realize the ends of knowledge without adverting to religion and undergoing a religious initiation into the mysteries of Being. In that I am already a man of the middle ages and no more a man of modern history. I do not look for the autonomy of religion, but for liberty in religion. No ecclesiastical hierarchy can now rule and regulate society and the life of the State, no clericalism is able to make use of external force. Nevertheless I cannot re-create the State and a decayed society otherwise than in the name of religious principles. I do not look for the autonomy of the State and of society in regard to religion, but for the foundation and strengthening of State and society in religion. Not for anything in the world would I be free from God ; I wish to be free in God and for God. When the flight from God is over and the return to God begins, when the movement of aversion from God becomes a movement towards Satan, then modern times are over and the middle ages are begun. God must again be the centre of our whole life—our thought, our feeling, our only dream, our only desire, our only hope. It is needful that my passion for a freedom without bounds should involve a conflict with the world, but not with God.”

NICHOLAS BERDYAEV : *The End of our Time*, pp. 105-6.

IN this issue, thanks to the help of Margaret M. Harvey, we are glad to be able to print a paper based upon the late William F. Harvey's notes for his undelivered Presidential address in 1937. It puts before us with well chosen selections and comments, a long series of attempts by Friends to convey to the rising generation the true inwardness of worship.

An example of local historical interest which it is hoped others will copy is the article on Winchmore Hill Meeting by Irene Edwards, and the account of the celebration of two hundred and fifty years of life of the meeting. Local history is also occupying Russell Mortimer, now at Leeds University Library. He is at work on an account of Bristol Quakerism.

The elusive Giles Calvert has occupied Miss Altha E. Terry of Columbia University and a summary of her much longer paper is printed in this issue. Friends' Educational history is enlarged in the account by C. B. Rowntree of the chequered career of a school at Ipswich and Colchester. At Woodbrooke Dorothy Hubbard is devoting the time given by a research fellowship to the preparation of a general history of Quaker education.

Several other pieces of historical work are in progress which have not yet resulted in publication. Arthur J. Eddington has presented to the Library a typed and bound digest of the minutes of Norfolk Quarterly Meeting from 1708-1784. It is well indexed under subjects and an appendix gives a full list of all meetings in Norfolk in 1759. Emily B. Fear of Cape Town has collected and copied many documents on the history of Quakerism in South Africa. A copy of her compilation has been placed in the Library.

Isabel Ross is collecting materials for a life of Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall.

A chronological bibliography of about five years of early Quaker literature, from 1652-1656, has been compiled by Mr. C. B. Freeman of University College, London, and is deposited in the College Library. By kind permission of the College Librarian, a typescript copy is being made for the Library at Friends House.

Guidance for Young Quakers in the use of Silence, 1657-1847

By WILLIAM FRYER HARVEY

*Collected for a Presidential Address to the Friends Historical Society, 1937, and now prepared for the press by
Margaret M. Harvey*

SOME years ago when I was a member of a Meeting that had recently been started and in which the children outnumbered the adults, a lady who was not a Friend remarked, " I suppose you Friends always make a point of explaining to your children how best to make use of the time of silence ? " She herself had had considerable experience in silent worship in retreats and elsewhere, and had what might be described as a technique of contemplation. Her question to me appeared to be a very reasonable one and I was not satisfied with my reply that Friends do little for their children in the way of direct teaching about the use of silence in Meeting.

In the last two years there have been letters in *The Friend* from New Zealand and South Africa on " The Talent of Silence ". The South African correspondent writes (*Friend*, 21.ii.'36), " Quite early in life, I found that, in spite of being blessed with a Quaker upbringing, I completely lacked instruction in the art of silence and I have had to gain such knowledge as I have from sources other than that of the Society of Friends. It may be that I was unfortunate in not knowing the sources which existed in the Society and which would have supplied me with the same explicit and progressive education along these lines as would have been the case had I felt a vocation for, say, foreign mission work or the amelioration and rectification of social evils ; but the fact remains that I was aware of no such instruction within the Society."

It is with this type of question in mind that I have tried to examine anew what has been written in the earlier days

of the Society on Silent Worship. It is a subject so large that I must omit many references to Fox, Barclay, and Pennington, since these would be in a large measure familiar, nor shall I refer to the numerous works published within the last forty years which do, I feel, answer many of the questions raised by these correspondents. I shall confine myself to works which if less well known, do show the importance that Friends placed on silence in worship, its nature and how best they could participate in it. [It is evident from notes that follow here, that an examination of the advice of early Friends on Silence, not only for children but for adults as well, was intended.]

From the first days of the Society, Friends were not backward in using the printed page for the religious instruction of their children.

In 1657 there was published *A Catechisme For Children that they may come to learn of Christ, the Light, the Truth, the Way that leads to know the Father, the God of all Truth*, by George Fox. It is a little book of 69 pages (which in the 1660 edition was expanded to 148 pages), consisting of Questions and Answers between Father and Child. The child is precocious and he undoubtedly asks, unlike so many children, the questions which his father thinks he is able and willing to answer. This catechism is chiefly noticeable for the emphasis placed on the Light. Again and again, in question and answer the words "the Light which doth enlighten every man that doth come into the world" are used.

Q. Father, is that the Light which thou tells me of, which I am enlightened withal, which sheweth me all that ever I have done, and all the ungodly ways that ever I have acted in, and all the ungodly deeds which I have committed, and hard speeches I have spoken, ungodly words I have uttered, and hard and wicked thoughts and imaginations which I have imagined and thought, is this the Light which doth shew this, and make this manifest ?

A. Yea Child, this is the Light which shews thee this, which doth enlighten every man that cometh into this world. Eph. v. 13.

- Q. Father, is this the Light which men hate because their deeds are evil and will not bring their deeds to the Light, because the Light will reprove them ?
- A. Yea Child. Job xvi. 8, 9.
- Q. Father, will this Light which doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, reprove him that believeth in the Light, and whose deeds are wrought in God ?
- A. No Child. John iii. 2.
- Q. Father, what, will this Light show everyone's words, actions, and ways and deeds, and imaginations ?
- A. Yea Child, it doth make them manifest and it doth try them. John iii. 19, 20.
- Q. Father, how may I know a thought and an imagination from the Light ?
- A. Child, the Light discovers them and makes them manifest, which cometh from Him by whom the World was made, which Light was before the thoughts were, and if the Light be hearkened to, the thoughts and imaginations shall not lodge within thee. Heb. i, 2.
- Q. Father, how must I overcome them, and where must I know the first step of peace ?
- A. Child, in the Light which thou art enlightened withal (which loving thou wilt see thyself, and how thou hast spent thy time) in that Light stand still, and with that Light thou shalt come to see Christ, the Saviour of thy soul, from whence the Light comes, to save thee from thy sin, and that which the Light discovers contrary to it ; thy strength is to stand still and believe in the Light ; etc.

The answer to the question, " Father, what is the Kingdom of Heaven ? " is, " Why, it is the Light, child." Luke xvii. 21.

To the question, " Who is the Lord God, and how may I know him, and how may I see him ? " the father answers, " Child, the Lord God is he that sheweth thee thy thoughts, he that shews thee thy thoughts is the Lord who fills Heaven

and Earth, and in the Light he is seen and beholden, and his Glory ; I, the Lord know the heart, and shew unto man his thoughts, and so with the Light that checks thee for sin and unholinesse, and turns thee to holinesse ; with that God is seen who is Holy and without holinesse none can see him."

Teaching such as this may seem to be entirely over the heads of the children addressed. Is it over their hearts and feelings ? I do not think so. I can picture George Fox seated by the fireside talking seriously to a serious-minded boy who feels in his presence awe and a great regard. The boy is taken seriously, and he is told to eat of the same meat as his elders. He learns that God is not outside the world and afar off, but within and very near. In this catechism George Fox, in the words in which he records his vision, " did set the children upon my horse, that they should not tire because of the bull chasing them, I was so tender towards them ".¹

A Primer and Catechism for Children by George Fox and Ellis Hookes was published in 1670. It is a very little book for very little children and contains instruction in spelling and punctuation, and a pronouncing vocabulary suited to the needs of the little Quaker. " Christ is the Truth. Christ is the Light. Christ is my Way. Christ is my Life. Christ is the Seed," he spells out. And then almost immediately he passes to " Sarah was a good woman. Jezebel was a bad woman, who killed the just, and turned against the Lord's Prophets, with her attired head and painted face peeping out of the Window. Christ I must feel within me, who is my Light, and the Truth ; and that is God that sheweth me my thoughts and imaginations of my heart ; and that is the Lord God that doth search my heart." In the early pages of this curious little work the reader can learn the signification of the word Thessalonica, the four kind of Cubits mentioned in Scripture, the signification of the seven Arts and the marks of a true Christian. The Catechism which occupies the middle third of the book is between Scholar and Master. It begins with an enumeration of the many offices that Christ has in the church, and then passes on to the question,

What is that shalt lead into all Truth ?

¹ *Jnl. F.H.S.*, iv (1907), p. 124.

MASTER. It is the Spirit of Truth which must lead into all Truth.

SCHOLAR. Where is the Spirit ?

MASTER. Within.

The Spirit is within, and the Truth is within in the inwards parts, by which Spirit God is known, and by the Truth the God of Truth is known.

Altogether, a humble little book which was probably loved by the children who read it. Could they not look up the signification of the first names of Friends ?¹ Were they not taught a ready way to reckon what one's daily expenses cometh unto in the whole year ?

In 1681 S.C. (Stephen Crisp) and George Fox the younger collaborated in *A new book for children to Learn in with many wholesome Meditations etc.* The 1731 edition is a little book about five inches square. Following the alphabet and simple syllables comes a statement, simple in form if not in thought, of some of the fundamentals of Quaker belief. The long words are divided so that the child can spell them out.

Lit-tle chil-dren, let your ears be di-li-gent to hear the voice of the LIGHT, for that calls out of ever-y e-vil way. That is the Light which tel-leth thee in secret thou should-est not do E-vil and that is placed with-in thee, to be a Witness for God a-against all E-vil.

And here is George Fox the younger—

Little Children, God that made the World, and created all Things that therein is, he is not a Man sitting above the Stars in some one place, which place is called Heaven, as many of the World and the teachers there of imagine. But the true God, who was Creator of all things, he is an Eternal Spirit, and he is the Life and Virtue, and Power that upholdeth all his Creatures, and by him all things consist. [And again] So that which may be known of God is manifested in you, for God hath shewed it unto you. Therefore children, ye should not seek nor look out, nor *search* in your own thoughts to find out the Knowledge of God, for the World by their thoughts and Wisdom know

¹ Jeremiah—my height or fearing. Daniel—Judgement of God.

not God. But the Lord God is nigh unto every one of you, for to shew unto you your Thoughts . . . so children, take notice of that which sheweth you your thoughts, for that is the Lord. . . . For whatsoever doth make manifest, the same is Light.

This teaching is mystical but I believe that some children, especially those of Quaker parents, must have derived benefit from it, and it is certainly a courageous attempt to help them in worship. The book compares very favourably with *A Scripture Catechism for Children, Presented to Fathers of Families, and Masters of Schools* by Ambrose Rigge in 1702, in which the whole of the Old and New Testaments are passed in review. "How long did Seth live?" asks the scholar, to which the master replies "905 years." "Who was the first that should fight against the Israel of God after their Restauration?" "Gogg and Magogg." Ezekiel xxxviii. 16, 17.

John Freame's *Scripture Instruction*, 1713, written in order to promote Piety and Virtue, and discourage Vice and Immorality, though digested into several sections by way of Question and Answer, could not have been easy to assimilate. He does, however, in the "preface relating to education" touch on one interesting point, the spirit in which education is given.

And there is one thing that is of a pernicious Consequence, and ought carefully to be avoided; that is Father and Mother not agreeing in their Judgements, but often differing and disputing even before their children; not only about matters of little moment, but also concerning those things which relate to the management of their children.

William Penn's *Fruits of a Father's Love*, 1726, is perhaps the most helpful of these earliest books which deal with the religious instruction of children. In reading it we are conscious of the wise and loving earthly father who left these words of counsel to his children.

I will begin [he says in Chapter 2] here also, with the Beginning of Time, the Morning, so soon as you wake, retire your mind into a pure silence, from all thoughts and Ideas of Worldly things, and in that

frame, wait upon God, to feel his good Presence, to lift up your Hearts to him, and commit your whole self, into his blessed care and Protection. Then rise, if well, immediately ; being drest, read a Chapter or more in the Scriptures, and afterwards dispose yourselves for the Business of the Day. . . . And as you have intervals from your lawful occasions, delight to step Home, within yourselves I mean, and commune with your own Hearts, and be still. . . . The evening come . . . have your times of Retirement, before you close your eyes, as in the Morning ; that so the Lord may be the Alpha and Omega of every Day of your Lives.

There is something here beyond the mere advice to say your prayers regularly night and morning. Children who understood if only in small measure the meaning of this, would find little difficulty in the right use of the silence of the Meeting for Worship. It would be an extension of something already known..

Keep close [says Penn] to the Meetings of God's People, wait diligently at them, to feel the Heavenly Life in your Hearts. Look for that more than Words in Ministry, and you will profit most. Above all look to the Lord, but despise not Instruments, Man or Woman, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Learned or Unlearned.

In 1733 the National Meeting held in Dublin approved a treatise by Samuel Fuller which was reprinted in 1786 under the title *Some Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion by way of Question and Answer. Recommended to Parents and tutors for the use of Children*. It reflects the growing spirit of quietism.

Q. What is Prayer ?

A. It is the Speech or earnest breathing of the soul to the Almighty, whether expressed in words or not.

Q. Ought men to run hastily or rashly to God in Prayer ?

A. No ; “ Be not rash with thy Mouth, and let not thine Heart be hasty to utter anything before God ; for God is in Heaven and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few.” Ecc. v. 2.

Q. Do we know what to pray for and what helps us to pray acceptably ?

A. No ; no more than the Apostle Paul, who tells us notwithstanding our Lord's excellent prayer afore-said, that We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh Intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. Rom. viii. 26.

It is interesting to note in passing that some of the questions are unexpectedly positive in their teaching. In the early nineteenth century the customary form of question was " Why do Friends object ? " Fuller has little use for the conscientious objector. He speaks of the Lord's Supper as " the soul partaking of the Bread which comes down from Heaven " and of a preparation that the soul must undergo before partaking of it. To the question " Is it necessary to partake of this Blessed Supper ? " he answers " Yes."

It is perhaps only to be expected that during the period of quietism there should be a marked falling off in the number of these children's manuals. Abiah Darby's *Useful Instruction for Children by way of Question and Answer*, 1763, covers much the same ground, in shorter compass, as Ambrose Rigge, and is without interest. She desires that the children will get the questions and answers by heart, but it is doubtful if their hearts could ever have been seriously engaged.

A much more likeable personality is F. Hatt of Ratcliff, London, whose informal manner of approaching children and patent sincerity, bridges the years that separate him from them, and them from us. His *Friendly advice to Children and all Mankind* was published in 1765. " It is desired by the author that this may be read by one person in every family, to others every Sabbath Day in the Morning, or by each Person that's capable to read, twice a week."

He advises children not to " be uneasy under their chastisements but to keep in mind the Advice given by their correctors, and take it as done for their good, not to spurn, be doged, and obstinate on Account thereof, rather calmly receive it ". They " will also find, by due Application of the mind something of a supernatural Power move in them in spiritual things ".

. . . you must be cautious of what company you keep, for the old saying is generally true “ His person is known by the company ”, and when there, take care you be not light and airy, and give too much liberty to the Tongue, that you may not have cause to repent of after, upon reflecting in your own minds.

The length of his sentences may have been something of a trial to the “ Person that’s capable to read ”.

The place of Worship to which you go, keep steadily as you grow in Years, consider what sincere Worshipping of God is, in Spirit, and in Truth, not in the outward form or show of it, be very careful not to set down at ease therein, but seek diligently to feel the true and sincere Knowledge of the inward Teachings in your own Hearts and Souls ; which will if you bring your Minds into silence and stillness by subjecting all evil Thoughts and Carnal Vain Imaginations of the Heart, that attend all Flesh at divine Worship, be much manifest unto you, to teach and assist you to adore and worship the great Author of all Things, Animate and Inanimate, in true humility of Soul and Uprightness of Heart ; then you will come to experience the true Revelation of the Grace and good Spirit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as a still small Voice, saying unto you, this is the Way, walk in it, turn not to the right hand nor to the left ; this is the true inward and Spiritual Worship that the Father hath delight in, and not in the Multitude of the outward Forms and Shews which the carnal or fleshly understanding performeth in its own will and Time. I say, if you get down into this stillness, in which alone it is that the teachings of that holy voice can be either heard or received, it will influence and warm your hearts and Souls with a true and sincere Zeal to follow the dictates thereof, in all your actions both spiritual and temporal, becoming the pure principal of Truth in the Heart which guideth out of all error, it being the true Monitor . . . if through Inadvertancy you should slip or stray, return to that Teacher within you, it’s that shewed you your Error, which will assist you and bring you again into that Life and Liberty, out of which you strayed,

where the enemy can have no Power over you, for that in you, giving the Life and Liberty, is stronger than all the powers of the wicked one. . . . Dear Children, as you take heed to make Improvement on the foregoing hints, you'll increase and grow up in the knowledge of this World's Affairs, and the Several Employments you are called to therein, in such sort that you will be able to discover the several errors and vices that the Enemy has concealed in them, and make war in Righteousness against them ; Also you'll be brought to see the Beauty of outward dress, Deportment and Simplicity, with which the true Professor in All-ages were adorned and accomplished, and holy desires will be begotten in your souls to walk circumspectly in all things agreeable to the Will of your Creator who gave you your Being ; and you will be overshadowed with that Gravity and Modesty which will recommend you to the solidest and best part of Mankind, which may remark and observe your actions ; yea even the Profligate and Wicked will respect you and will be awful in your Presence, being convicted in themselves, that your walking is in the Uprightness of the leadings of that inward Monitor which was not wanting to manifest often unto them, what was their own duty, and so all people will become fond of you and you'll be liked in all your Commerce, in all your Callings and Employments, amongst them who behold your Integrity knowing it to be coupled with Fear.

Of the other three chapters in this little booklet the first is " An exhortation to the Professors of the Christian Religion of all Denominations, that they may come to know it really and experimentally ".

Outward forms and services, that have not true Faith joined with them, are not acceptable offerings to the Lord : the offerings that are acceptable, must be made with the whole Heart, through, and by the Efficacy of an inward Revelation, shewing us what it is the Lord requires. . . . It's an internal Work . . . it's in this way of Stillness that Christ is to be known, and true sincere Worship to the Deity can be performed.

The second is "A few lines to those who are attentive to the Teaching of the Spirit and Grace of Christ in their Souls", and the last "A Warning and alarm to awaken and stir up the Careless and Lukewarm, both Old and Young, that have felt in some Degree the inworking and operation of the Grace and good Spirit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but through Unwatchfulness, and the neglect of duly attending thereon have not known the Works of true Religion wrought in them".

. . . its not being nominally a member of the Society of the People called Quakers, but witnessing a Being led by the spirit of Truth. . . . My heart's desire is, that we may none of us deceive ourselves by resting in a form, which tho' good in its place, as we are rightly led into it, will not otherwise do anything for us, but let us be diligent in the assembling ourselves together, and as much as in our Power steadily and constantly attending our own Meeting both Morning and Afternoon, and on week-days (not sleeping away the Time) but seek to know where to wait and what to wait for ; which as we attain unto, we shall find to be a real Blessing to us, being no less than the Bread of Life, whereby the Soul is nourished and kept alive to God.

" . . . seek to know where to wait and what to wait for . . . " is his Friendly advice to old and young ; and surely as acceptable and timely now as when he first gave it.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century came a renewed interest in the religious instruction of Quaker youth.

In the Friends Reference Library there is an undated leaflet of 22 queries designed for scholars in Boarding Schools.

" Why do Friends object to the use of forms of Prayer ? "

" Why do Friends object to preparing sermons to be preached ? "

" Why do Friends sit so much in silence in their meetings for Divine worship ? "

" The answers are to be written as neatly as possible on a quarter of a sheet of large post paper once doubled, with a little margin on the left hand side, in order that they may be all stitched together as a book ; the Query and its number

to be first copied ; then the answer ; in forming which, the Book of Discipline, Robert Barclay's Apology, J. J. Curney's Peculiarities, or any of the approved writings of the Society of Friends, but especially the Holy Scriptures, may be consulted."

John Bevens, Jun.'s *Brief view of the Doctrines of the Christian Religion as professed by the Society of Friends, in the form of Question and Answer, for the Instruction of Youth*, 1810, is evangelical in tone. In section iv on the Nature of Worship, the 81st query asks—

What is our duty when thus assembled together ?

Answer. To wait upon the Lord in silence, and endeavour to preserve the mind from dwelling on thoughts which arise from the activity of the imagination ; that the life and power of Christ may be felt to calm the soul, to bring every thought into subjection, to produce a real inward silence, and afford a true sense of its state ; when even a single sigh, arising from such a sense, will be acceptable to God because of his own begetting ; for it is only his own works that can praise him. [And again] Those who by a travail of spirit, are inwardly gathered to the one source of light and life for a renewal of their spiritual strength, become helpful to each other : the life flowing from Christ the head (who is spiritually present according to his promise) to his members, the circulation of it among them, as from vessel to vessel, produces the communion and fellowship of the saints, by which, one member feeling for and sympathising with another, all are edified.

In his *Remarks on the Religious Instruction of the Youth of the Society of Friends*, 1828, Richard Ball, speaking as a member of a school management committee whose task was to prepare a plan of religious instruction based on John Bevan's Scripture Proofs, heartily approves of the form of catechetical instruction. Speaking of the 107 Questions, Richard Ball says, " The children appear to be fond of learning the catechism, and I do not recollect a single instance of reluctance to apply to it, but on the contrary, they frequently learn the greater part of it during the time allotted them for recreation." He speaks of the early days

of the Society when its members had been well grounded in certain elements of the Christian faith, contrasting them with the present when it is frequently remarked that "the children of our society generally, grow up more uninformed on the doctrines of the Christian religion than the children of other Christian communities".

Richard Ball quotes a correspondent who is evidently uneasy about the methods adopted in schools. "I quite conclude", writes the correspondent, "that such dear friends as have in sincerity of intention, planned and are bringing into practice this process of religious instruction, are not aware that they are (to speak in a familiar phrase) as it were putting the cart before the horse; teaching children to profess a belief, that is, before they have come to that which can alone enable to say 'Lord I believe.'". The objector laments the danger of having "a set of young formalists rise about us . . . whose heads are likely to be filled with notions, rather than with that nothingness of self, which is as truly the introduction of all right knowledge as the other is a snare and a stumbling-block in the way to it", to which Richard Ball rejoins that "putting the cart before the horse" appears to us to be rather more applicable to those who hold the opinion that religious experience should precede, if not supercede, religious instruction, ". . . as if, because they could not confer grace it was useless to communicate information".

We are left, then, with the little Quakers in their boarding schools learning by heart in their hours of recreation the 107 Queries based on John Bevan's Scripture Proofs. Richard Ball thinks that he has done something to help them, but were they better able to use those long silent hours of worship on first and fourth day? On the other hand, his anonymous objector was content to do nothing for them, to offer no helping hand. They would, I feel, obtain little support from *The Silver Cord or the Youth's Instructor*, by John Ashby (1834) whose 346 pages seem to the modern reader wholly incapable of appeal to children.

Some may say, if I go to a meeting, and there is no speaking I cannot keep my thoughts upon such good as I wish, and I cannot keep myself awake. It may be so; but is it not the case, that thou art given to idolatry? that is, thy affections set on things of

the world, to serve thyself, the creature above the creator. [And again] If in our spirits we are ardent for his cause, and wait for him to open our understanding and keep us faithful to do his will, in love and zeal for the Lord . . . we shall have a desire to go to meeting and it will keep us awake, and our profiting will most likely be made clear to us.

Poor little sleepy idolators. They swing their legs as they sit on the hard form ; no one breaks the silence except the thrush on the branch of the tree outside, a visiting Friend to whom they must not listen.

In *Conversations as between Parents and Children, designed for the Instruction of Youth* (Philadelphia, 1834) the ways of Friends are explained and justified by reference to the Scriptures. Again the question and answer method is used.

EDWARD. . . . we should like to know why our meetings are sometimes held in silence.

FATHER. A state of inward retirement and waiting upon God, appeared to George Fox essential to the performance of true worship, as well as for the exercise of Gospel ministry, which requires a renewed qualification from Him, and fresh anointing of the Holy Ghost, to preach the word of life to the people. Worship being a communication between the soul of man and that divine Being who is a spirit, words are not essential for the performance of this important duty ; according to the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer " God is a Spirit ; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth " : of course their religious meetings were always held as ours are now, either wholly or partly in silence.

As one passes in review these books, pamphlets and catechisms the aim of which was to instruct the youth of the Society in religious principles and to a less extent to help them understand and profit by the Quaker way of worship, one receives the impression that for the most part they were written by those who showed little imaginative sympathy for the needs of youth and that the catechisms and queries were forms ill-adapted for their purpose. They began in questions between father and child, passed to

teacher and scholar, and, sometimes as the result of the work of committees, ended in the wholly impersonal queries, cold questions and cold answers.

For instance, Barclay's *Catechism and Confession of Faith*, 1837, though doubtless assisting towards a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, would hardly, one feels, satisfy a genuine thirst for information.

Q. Is there any promise that daughters as well as sons shall prophesy ?

A. Joel ii. 28.

Q. But may all women speak or are any commanded to keep silence in the Church ?

A. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35 ; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12 ; 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5.

Yet there are in the early nineteenth century at least two examples of a natural human approach to the problem of religious instruction which in an unassuming way succeed in understanding something of a child's difficulties.

Parental Instruction in Familiar Dialogues, by Charlotte Rees, was published in Bristol in 1811. It contains nine conversations between Mother, Fanny and William.

Conversation I.

FANNY. How shall I know what will please Him ?

MOTHER. He has through his great love towards us, placed something in our hearts that makes us feel comfortable when we do what is right, and causes us to be unhappy when we do wrong.

FANNY. Then if our heavenly father has put something within us which shows us what we ought to do, he himself teaches us to be happy.

MOTHER. Yes, dear child, that is quite true. So, though we do not see God, we know he is very great and very good . . . and though he does not talk with us as I do now with thee, yet he speaks in our hearts when he encourages us to do right, and reproves us for what is wrong.

FANNY. What may I call this that God has placed within me ?

MOTHER. It is called the Light or Spirit of God, and when we are naughty we are said to grieve the

good spirit of God. But go now, my love, divert thyself with William ;—perhaps thou dost not understand all I have said ;—think of it sometimes, and another time thou mayst hear more.

Conversation III.

FANNY. Why do we go so often to Meeting, Mother ?

MOTHER. I should be sorry to stay away, for many reasons, my love, and I hope I am thankful that I am not obliged to do so. I once told thee all persons should endeavour to do their duty and it is a part of ours to go to Meeting. If we feel how much cause we have to love and thank our heavenly Father, we shall find such opportunities of thinking upon his mercies, very comfortable and useful.

FANNY. But could we not think of his goodness and love him for it while we are at home, reading, working, or doing other things ?

MOTHER. I desire never to *forget* this kind and best friend while I am engaged in what is useful at home, but that is no reason why I should not go to Meeting. Tell me, my dear, if thou wert to go from me to a distance, though thou might not *forget* me while learning thy lessons, or at play, wouldest thou not like sometimes to go alone where thou couldst think of me without interruption ? Then thou wouldest remember many things that I had done for thee, many things I had told thee, better than when thy thoughts and hands were busy with other things. Thus we ought often to put everything aside that nothing may take our attention from our gracious heavenly Father, and the remembrance of what he has done for us. It is right to fix a time when many Friends may meet in the same place, and it may cause us to love each other better when we come to wait upon God. Perhaps this is one of the things thou canst not understand yet ; but thou mayst believe it is so, and I hope thou wilt one day or other know the truth of it. . . .

FANNY. . . . I am afraid that when I go there I do not always think of what I ought.

MOTHER. Possibly thou dost not, my love ; but I hope thou wilt remember there is One that looks upon the heart, and if thou really wish to love and thank him for his goodness, he will often make thee feel he is very near, and willing to teach thee himself, and help thee to overcome an inclination to be thoughtless, peevish, disobedient, or otherwise naughty.

The second example of simple natural instruction in dialogue form is *Conversations with Mamma on the Peculiarities of Friends*, 1847. It has, among others, chapters on Music, On Vain Sports, On Plainness of Speech, On William Penn, On Silent Worship.

Little Emily has a kind aunt who is a member of the Church of England and cousins whose education and way of life she envies. She asks her mamma if she cannot accept her aunt's kind invitation to go with her to church next First-day, as she would sit still and would so like to hear the pretty music. "I should prefer thy remaining in the nursery with Ann, who will read to thee," says Mamma. She goes on to explain that

¹ thou art old enough to know, and have learnt that God is a spirit, can do all things and knows all things, even our thoughts. Since this is so, Friends believe that it is not needful to repeat written prayers or sing hymns, but they believe that if we silently sit, and endeavour to remember what are our greatest faults, and in our hearts feel sorry, and beg of our Almighty Father who is in heaven to forgive us, or if we pray or ask for what we desire, God in his goodness will listen to us, as readily or even more so, than if we were to read any prayer aloud. Dost thou, dear Emmy, now think thou understandest ?

EMILY. Yes, mamma, I think I do, and thank thee for trying to explain to me, because now, I think I can tell also what has often before puzzled me, that is, why when we dine with thee and papa, in the parlour, he does not repeat out loud, the same words that my uncle and some other persons do ; but now I hope I shall not forget when we sit in silence before meals,

¹ These quoted paragraphs have been abbreviated at several points.

that I ought to feel thankful, and that God will know and listen to my thoughts as well as my words.

[Later] I cannot think why we Friends do not have music at Meeting.

. . . it is spending time in the mere gratification of the senses which might be more profitably employed. [And again] all the reasons I gave you last night for disapproving of music, etc., are equally applicable to the amusements of which we are now speaking. [These were hunting, horse-racing and gambling !]

We have not much early written witness to the effect of silent worship on children ; though the evidences of their faithfulness are a proof that they had felt the power of their parents' way of worship. From Bristol in 1654 we hear that "sometimes children spake a few words in prayer ; and we were sometimes greatly bowed and broken before the Lord in humility and tenderness . . ."¹ "By June 1682 the number of Friends in prison had reached about 150 ; but the Meeting continued to be kept up, chiefly by children. On June 18, 6 boys were taken from the Temple Street Meeting and put for an hour in the stocks, and some 30 children were imprisoned for a time. In July the meetings consisted of hardly any but children. On the 23rd the boys' hats were taken away and cast into a neighbour's yard, and 8 lads were put in the stocks for 2 hours, who behaved themselves soberly and cheerfully. Through the hottest days of persecution the children 'remained steadfast, and thus showed in spite of their enemies, that God would not suffer that the Quakers' meeting should be altogether suppressed, as it was intended.'"² In 1664 Curtis wrote to Fox from Reading, "Our little children kept the meetings up when we were all in prison."

The following account of the experience of an Irish boy of twelve occurs in *Examples for Youth, in Remarkable Instances of Early Piety*, selected by William Rawes, Jun., 1797. "He said he had been several times in a place by himself, where he wished he had been for ever, he enjoyed so much of the comfortable presence of the Lord in silent

¹ W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 165.

² W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 102, 103.

waiting upon him, and meditating in his law, which drew his soul into rapture." Similar experiences are quoted in *Extracts and Original Anecdotes for the Improvement of Youth*, by Mary Leadbeater, 2nd edition, 1820.

About the seventh year of my age [writes George Bewley] it pleased the Lord to reach unto, and securely incline my mind to love to go to meetings, and at times I would be so tendered in meetings, and affected with divine goodness (though I scarce knew what it was) that desires were raised to feel more ; and I often found a fear of going to play and other childish folly, always finding that when I did so I came to a loss, as to the enjoyment of that inward sweetness and tenderness, which at times I was favoured with, not only when verbal testimonies were borne, but also in time of silence. One time sitting in a meeting in time of silence, I was much broken and tendered, so that many tears ran from my eyes, yet I was sweetly affected with inward comfort, and was made sensible, that I had too much given way to childish folly, insomuch that a dislike was begot in me to it, and I resolved to be more watchful for the future. Then such things, instead of being pleasant to me, became rather burdensome, and I chose to walk alone into the fields (from play) to pray to the Lord for preservation out of the evils of the world. . . . When I was about twelve years of age I was troubled, observing some in our religious meeting for worship, giving way to sleep and drowsiness ; though I was pretty well preserved therefrom ; yet I was often hard beset with a wandering mind [how glad one is to find that this good little boy shares the experience of all normal little Quakers !] and one time in a meeting, being desirous to be delivered of my thoughts (they being a trouble to me), suddenly I was, as it were enclosed with a glorious light, and immediately all vain thoughts vanished away, and I sat in great calmness and sweetness for some time. When this was withdrawn, I was sensible that it was a renewed, gracious visitation from the Lord unto me, by his blessed light, grace and good spirit, which confirmed my faith in the sufficiency thereof, and that all who loved, believed in and obeyed it, should not

only obtain victory over vain thoughts and a wandering mind, but also over evil words and actions.

Very similar was the experience of John Churchman, as told in his *Journal*.

Though I early felt reproof for bad words and actions, yet I knew not whence it came, until about the age of eight years, as I sat in a small meeting the Lord, by the reachings of his heavenly love and goodness, so overcame and tendered my heart, and by his glorious light discovered to me the knowledge of Himself, that I saw myself, and what I had been doing, and what it was that reproved me for evil ; and I was made in the secret of my heart to confess, that childhood and youth, and the foolish actions and words to which they are propense, are truly vanity. Yet blessed be the name of the Lord ! who in his infinite mercy and goodness, clearly informed me, that if I would mind the discoveries of His Truth and pure light for the future, what I had done in the time of my ignorance, he would forgive. And Oh ! the stream of love which filled my heart with solid joy at that time, and lasted for many days, is beyond all expression.

These testimonies and the records of children's steadfastness in times of persecution are proof enough (if proof were needed) that whether or not Friends have given them much help by the written word, children from the earliest days of the Society have known in themselves and in their elders reverence and awe in silent worship and have had their spiritual hunger satisfied there ; that they have known to some extent " where to wait and what to wait for ".

1688, Middlesex village, to suburb of London, 1938

Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Winchmore Hill Meeting

There are few Meetings in London which can yet claim to celebrate their 250th Anniversary as Winchmore Hill did on November 9th, 1938, when about 140 Friends and visitors met together for the occasion.

Irene L. Edwards gave an informing and lively account of this long history, the substance of which is printed in the following article. The facts have been gleaned mainly from local records, although the sequence of Minutes has unfortunately been broken by the loss of several books covering in all some 50 years. Photographs of interesting Minutes taken by George W. Edwards were shown.

The historical paper was followed by two short representations in costume of scenes which might well have occurred at Winchmore Hill. The first one, about 1662, was at "Thacker's Barn", the original Meeting House. It showed the meeting at which William Brend, lately returned from America, preached a powerful sermon which arrested the attention of three young men, and led to their conviction. The second represented a session of Enfield Monthly Meeting held at Winchmore Hill in 1709. Contemporary Minutes of the Meeting were used. Although the costumes worn by the members of the assembled company covered several periods, it may still be fairly said that on entering the Meeting House one was immediately carried in imagination back into the distant past. Here was a great grandmother's brown silk cloak, and there a grandmother's silvery-grey silk wedding shawl, while several genuine old Quaker bonnets nodded together in animated conversation. Winchmore Hill Friends organized a "Bring and Buy" sale in aid of the new meeting house just begun at New Barnet, as a thanksgiving offering for their own settled home for 250 years.

IN 1780 when a Friend named Samuel Hoare (ancestor of the present Sir Samuel Hoare) was laid to rest in this then rural spot, James Jenkins wrote in his Diary that "Winchmore Hill is the Westminster Abbey of the Friends of Middlesex where our Kings, Statesmen & Poets repose." It was to the burial ground of course that his words applied not to the simple structure used as the meeting house. The survival of Winchmore Hill Meeting through the

centuries, with sometimes very few if any Friends in the immediate locality, is probably due to its possession of a burial ground used from early times by well-known Friends' families such as the Bells, Freames, Barclays, Hoares, Hodgkins and many others.

The ground with house, tenement and barn was given to Friends by John and Elizabeth Oakeley about the year 1682. John died two years afterwards and upon the death of Elizabeth in 1686 a meeting house was erected or perhaps it is more correct to say that a part of the premises were adapted for that purpose. The building was finally completed in 1688, two hundred and fifty years ago. The property is described in the old deeds as abutting on the south upon the King's highway leading to Enfield Chase, which was a large piece of forest land reserved for the King's hunting. When as a young man George Fox was seeking for spiritual help from professors and priests of many counties he came to Barnet on his way to London and often, he tells us, "walked solitary in the Chace there to wait upon the Lord". The years passed. Fox had found the Light and his followers, now numbering thousands, were proclaiming the glad news through the length and breadth of England and even in lands overseas.

The first record we find of any Friends' Meeting held at Winchmore Hill was about the year 1662. In that year Wm. Brend, a powerful preacher who had suffered much for conscience' sake in England and America, spoke at a Meeting there with such power, that at least three of his audience were convinced by his words. One was a young man named Samuel Hodges, later to be a stalwart Friend in the South Mimms district, another a young man named George Chalkley who became a faithful Friend in South London and the father of two sons, George and Thomas, both workers for Truth. George was a schoolmaster, first in Southwark and later at Edmonton, and Thomas grew to be a master mariner and a great preacher both in England and America. His *Journal*, one of our Quaker classics, was described by Whittier in *Snowbound* as

"Chalkley's Journal, old & quaint
Gentlest of skippers, rare sea saint."

Records of Quaker life for these very early years are scanty, but we know that in 1670 George Fox passed rather

a sad winter at the house of a widowed Friend of Enfield, Elizabeth Dry. Here he had gone, worn out in body and mind, but gradually with the help of loving nursing he regained his health. From the year 1681 until his death in 1690 George Fox was a very frequent visitor to Winchmore Hill and its neighbourhood and some details about his visits are available. Many of his City Friends had their country houses in this district and they with other Friends living here vied with each other in giving hospitality to their leader.

We can picture him after a busy time in the City of London going to the "Seedsman's Inn" in Bishopsgate and taking coach there for Southgate or South Street as it was then often called. While staying there he would attend meeting at Winchmore Hill and, in spite of increasing infirmity, with great power the record says: "he would declare and afterwards go to prayer". Meeting over, visits were paid to local Friends and then by horseback or coach he would go on to Fords Green or Fords Grove as we call it, to stay at a large house there perhaps for several days or even weeks. Enfield was next visited and meetings held at Flamstead End, near Cheshunt; and Waltham Abbey. Then perhaps he might return to Town by way of Enfield, Mimms and Barnet. At Southgate he generally stayed with Bridget Austell who kept a school for girls. On one occasion Fox went there to be nursed after being blooded with horse leeches. George Whitehead's first wife Ann was taken mortally ill at Bridget's house at Southgate in 1686 and Fox visited her there on several occasions.

He held Meetings with Bridget's scholars both at Southgate and later at Tottenham High Cross, to which the School had moved by 1689. The first Tottenham Meeting was held in Bridget's house, near the Cross. Thomas Cox and Francis Stamper, both City Friends, had their country houses at Southgate and when there would attend Meeting at Winchmore Hill. Francis Stamper was a watchmaker; there is a watch made by him in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington.

The group of Friends around Winchmore Hill Meeting House visited by George Fox at this time was probably only small in number, first to be mentioned are John and

Elizabeth Oakeley ; to them we owe the site on which they still meet.

John Oakeley, who was a member of the Merchant Taylors Company of the City of London, had married Elizabeth Hatch of Edmonton in 1672 whilst living in Westbury St., near Wheeler St., Spitalfields. It was in his house at Westbury St. that the first gathering of Friends in the Spitalfields district had been held, several years before. The Meeting afterwards developed into the well-known Wheeler St. Meeting, near old Devonshire House. The Bedford Institute in Quaker St., Spitalfields, is built near the site. In 1676 in a list of the Members of the Six Weeks Meeting we find John Oakeley's name has been crossed through and a note at the side says " removed into the country ". The country was Winchmore Hill, where he lived for the remainder of his days, upholding the cause of Truth and sometimes suffering for conscience' sake, not a new experience, for in his earlier years he had known imprisonment in Newgate. At Winchmore Hill in 1682 he had goods taken in lieu of a fine levied on him for attending a Meeting at Winchmore Hill to " wait upon the Lord ". His account of this incident is probably in his own handwriting. His name is also mentioned on other documents, but Elizabeth Oakeley's signature is not there ; on one deed I noticed she had made her mark, an X, either because of infirmity or because she could not write.

We have records of two other Friends whose goods were taken in lieu of a fine for being at this same Meeting at Winchmore Hill. One was James Lowerry of Southgate, his account says that the warrant was issued by Joshua Gaillard Justice " so called ", and that the constable came from Boase, i.e. Bowes Park. The other sufferer was Richard Chare at whose house George Fox nearly always used to call after attending Winchmore Hill Meeting. Chare kept a shop and the goods taken from him on this occasion included a tub of flour, a small bag of hops, a tub of white starch and half a firkin of butter. When Chare was older he apparently fell away somewhat in his allegiance. And it shows how truthful Friends tried to be that when noting his death they said " he was a professor of the Truth but no honour of it in his conversation ". George Fox's host

and hostess at Fords Green were Edward and Elizabeth Man whose country house it was. Sometimes Fox stayed there for several weeks, delighting in the country quietness but being kept busy writing letters and Epistles and receiving many visitors. Important discussions as to Friends' business often took place in his presence at Fords Green; George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Edward Billing and many others were entertained there. Edward Man his host was one of the most prominent Friends in the Society in London. A hosier by trade, he lived in the City at the sign of the Golden Lyon, near Bishopsgate. His house at Fords Green had a wall round it and was 18 yards from the roadway; these facts are in a contemporary document which tries to prove that no one passing along the road could distinguish at that distance whether sounds they heard coming from the house could be someone preaching or only someone reading, a significant difference in those troublesome times.

Friends may remember that a few years ago a series of modern letters appeared in *The Friend* and were headed at the sign of the Fleur de Lys in Thomas Apostles. This was the address of a well-known early London Friend named Gerrard Roberts who had opened his house in the City as a general meeting place for Friends. Later on he lived at Edmonton and you will find his name among those of other Friends summoned to be present in 1683 at a petty sessions held at the Bell Inn at Edmonton to answer a charge made against them. George Fox would pass from Fords Green on to Enfield, perhaps on horseback, perhaps in a coach, and at Enfield was entertained by several different Friends. There was Widow Dry, Thomas Hart, formerly a Barbados merchant, Wm. Shewen, once a pinmaker in Bermondsey and George Watts of Aldersgate who had his country house at the Chase Side.

Meetings at Enfield were held in private houses at this time and perhaps also at times in a barn. Some years later, in 1697, a meeting house was built in Baker St., but after the first generation of Friends had passed away Enfield Meeting was never very large and in 1794 the meeting house was closed.

At Flamstead End, near Cheshunt, lived Gawen Lawrie, a merchant who had business with Wm. Haig, the Quaker

of Bermersyde in Scotland. Later on his daughter married one of Haig's sons, who emigrated to America. Lawrie himself left England in 1684 to become deputy governor of East Jersey. There was also a Friend belonging to Flamstead Meeting named Wonderful Warwick, who suffered for attendance at meeting. This Meeting, though belonging to Enfield M.M., looked for some contribution for its maintenance from Hertford Q.M.; but this was always a source of friction and the connection was given up about 1707.

Samuel Hodges of South Mimms, a butcher by trade, was heavily fined in 1683 for a Meeting at his house. He and Henry Hodge of Barnet were visited by Fox as he journeyed through their district giving advice and encouragement for the good ordering of Truth.

The Meeting at Barnet was held in a private house from 1689 until about 1743 when it was laid down. The Mimms Meeting also at first met in a private house, later a meeting house was built with a small burial ground attached, but after a great struggle for existence in its last years it was finally closed in 1787 and the property sold.

The groups of Friends just enumerated were joined together for purposes of business under the name of Enfield Monthly Meeting, and the first Monthly Meetings were held in Enfield in private houses.

An early writing, dated 1676, records a collection being taken up at the house of Samuel Newton for publick services for Truth beyond the seas, and Gerrard Roberts was asked to convey it to the Friends in London.

Monthly Meetings were also held in the houses of Elizabeth Dry, and Thomas Hart. Unfortunately the Minute Books for the first period are missing, the earliest one we now have commences in 1689, but a rather tattered account book of an earlier date remains and supplies some interesting information. Gawen Lawrie of Flamstead End was the first treasurer. The accounts record that a rent of £2 p.a. was paid for the meeting house at Winchmore Hill before John Oakeley made his gift of land and building to Friends in that village.

Collections were taken up at Meetings at Flamstead End, Barnet, Mimms and Winchmore Hill for the general purposes of Truth. A gift from Ireland for poor suffering Friends was received and from these sources relief was paid

to local Friends who had lost all their goods by sufferings. Sometimes the goods would be farm stock such as corn and cattle, sometimes household goods, such as pewter dishes, brass kettles, brass skellits, poringer, feather bed, fowling piece, rug, blankets. One Friend also received £2 10s. towards his great loss by the flood. In 1687 a gift of £45 from the Six Weeks Meeting is received towards the building of the new meeting house at Winchmore Hill.

In a Minute Book belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Horslydown and Southwark on the south side of the river (the ancestor of Croydon and Southwark M.M., to which the present writer belongs) there is a record of a special collection being made for the proposed meeting house at Winchmore Hill, £9 being collected.

Although the Monthly Meeting Minutes for this year and the next are missing we are glad to find among the Quarterly Meeting papers at Friends House the actual letter sent by Enfield M.M. giving particulars as to the proposed new meeting house. George Fox was present at this Enfield Monthly Meeting held in the house of the Widow Dry but as he was not a member of the Monthly Meeting concerned he does not sign the letter. This important letter reads :

To the Quarterly Meeting of Friends for ye County of Middlesex from the Monthly Meeting at Endfeild the 29.iv.1687.

Deare freinds

In the truth which is precious wee very dearly salute you Giveing you to understand that we have a desire to have a weekly meeting in the town of Endfeild. And do desire your consent and concurrence therein Also we have intention to remove the meeting at Winchmore Hill from the house it is now at to the house that was once John Oakeys, and doe desire your consent and approbation thereof and to signifie the same unto us by the Bearer hereof and with our Dear love to you in the Lord we bid you farewell. Yor Friends & Brethren in the Truth

Thos. Hart, Wm. Shewen, Geo. Watts, Saml Goodaker, Christopher Thompson, Joshua Wright, Richard Saunders, Thos. Watson, John French, Wm. Wild & John Woodsend.

We have no idea of what the building looked like, whether its roof was tiled or thatched, but there is record of Edward Man spending money to plant small trees about it.

Not far from Enfield is the town of Waltham Abbey, where for some years there was a well-known Friends' School; two sons of Isaac Pennington and a grand-daughter of Margaret Fox were amongst the scholars. A remarkable spiritual visitation came to the School on 4.vi.1679, about which there are many accounts available. From one we learn that, "At a meeting where was present about 40 or 50 young boys and maidens, God's heavenly power brake forth in some maids and young girls, it reached in a very short time all the children and even the elder people."

George Fox often paid visits to this district and would meet Christopher Taylor the Schoolmaster and his scholars, Thomas Bennet and other local Friends. The Meeting here also started in a barn, but a meeting house was eventually built on ground given to Friends in 1672 for use as a burial ground. Flourishing in its early days, the Meeting declined rapidly after the end of the seventeenth century; by 1840 it had long since died out and the premises and burial ground were then sold.

Although Waltham Friends were in fairly close touch with Enfield Friends they belonged until 1691 to a different Monthly Meeting, called Waltham Abbey, which included meetings at Barking, Wanstead and Epping and was under the jurisdiction of Essex Quarterly Meeting. There is an early minute book for this group, until recently kept at Winchmore Hill, but now happily safe at Friends House; it was begun in 1673. It is disappointing to find no reference in it to the famous School, but Christopher Taylor, the master, takes his share in the business of the meeting. The women in both Enfield and Waltham Abbey Monthly Meetings met apart from the men except on special occasions; the minute setting up the women's meeting says that the women of Waltham are asked to meet together to consider of such things as "Truth coles for at there hands" usually the relief of the poor and sick. Another Minute mentions George Fox and a meeting at Coopersayle, a village near Cheshunt, and there is also preserved among the Minutes the record of an intention of marriage for

Michael Yoakley, the founder of the well-known almshouses situated to-day at Stoke Newington and Margate.

The School at Waltham Abbey moved to Edmonton about 1680 and soon afterwards Christopher Taylor who had been in charge went to America. Having moved to the district under the care of Enfield Monthly Meeting it was that meeting which prepared his certificate, of which a contemporary copy is preserved.

Whereas our friend Christopher Taylor a member of our monthly meeting at Enfield does intend to transport himself wife and family to Pensilvania in America And it being usual and necessary in such cases to have certificates from the monthly meetings whereunto the persons transporting or removing themselves do belong We do hereby certify our said friends Christopher Taylor to be an honest servicable friend in the Truth and for the Truth Having a public and serviceable Testimony amongst us and abroad for the precious Truth as well in good example by a godly conversation as in word and doctrine. And his wife Francis Taylor we also certify is one of our womens meeting in the unity of the blessed Truth and of good service in her place amongst us. In testimony whereof, we belonging to the monthly meeting at Enfield in middlesex hereunto write our names

From our monthly meeting at Thoms Harts house in Enfield To Friends everywhere where this may come the 26th of the 2nd mo. 1682.

Mary Lawry
Sarah Spencer
Priscilla Hart
Mary Clarke
Ann Goodaker

Thomas Hart
Gawin Lawry
George Keith
Joshua Wright
John Oakeley
Saml. Goodaker
Wm. Wild
Thos Roberts
[& others]

Christopher Taylor became a member of the first Provincial Council of Pennsylvania and was in charge of a School there.

Gawen Lawrie who signed the certificate went to America two years afterwards. George Keith, another of the signatories, succeeded Taylor as head of the school at Edmonton for a few years before he also went to America.

In 1691 the Friends of Waltham and Epping united with Enfield Monthly Meeting, Barking Meeting forming a separate Monthly Meeting on its own. About the same time Tottenham came into the group, for a meeting had just been begun there near the High Cross, later to outgrow all the other Meetings of the M.M. and eventually to give its name to it.

In after years a Friend named Cross, living near the Cross at Tottenham was known to his neighbours as having rather a forbidding and austere manner so that this rhyme became popular :

Cross by name and cross by nature
Cross by the high Cross and Cross the Quaker.

For some years after 1691 the monthly meetings were held at Enfield and Waltham Abbey with occasional meetings at Barnet, Winchmore Hill and Tottenham. A great part of the monthly meeting business was concerned with the maintenance of the meeting houses under its care, that of Winchmore Hill was often under discussion. In 1691 it seems that part of the meeting house was fitted up as a dwelling place and an outhouse built, and the widow French and her family were allowed to live there rent free, this led to difficulties, for later on two women Friends of the M.M. were appointed to acquaint widow French "that friends are troubled to see that she does not put things out of sight during the meeting time as her pots and things upon the shelves and cheeses on the beam which are there for all to see they also desire that she order her children to sit or keep still and quiet during meeting time and not to run up and down stairs".

These children had had a legacy of £6 left to them by their grandmother and the Friends of the Meeting had charge of it on their behalf, they therefore asked two of their members, John Freame and Thomas Gould, "Gouldsmiths of Lumbard Street", to take it and made allowance to them for interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. These Friends were the original founders of Barclays Bank. John Freame lived at Bush Hill and was a prominent member of

Enfield Monthly Meeting. He was Clerk of Yearly Meeting in 1711. He was also the Banker for the London (Quaker) Lead Company, the history of which has just been published by the Friends Historical Society. A cluster of old houses known as Quaker Row used to stand in South Enfield.

The monthly meeting concerned itself with the right ordering of the marriages of its members, with the care of the sick, poor and aged and with the education of the children of the meeting, paying for their school and apprenticeship fees when their parents were unable to do so. They made arrangements for the widow French's daughter to be apprenticed to Bridget Austell at Tottenham to learn housewifery but her mother had other views and was difficult, wishing her daughter to go to a place where she would have higher wages but said the Friends of the M.M. "At Bridget's she would be in the way of preferment and of learning something the better to fit her for a reputable and more profitable and less labouresome place than the one suggested by her Mother besides the clothes that the Borders will be giving her." Bridget kept a Boarding School.

In 1697 the minute book records the following incidents concerning the death of a boy named Kaleb Bussey who had been apprenticed at the Meeting's expense to widow Tabrum. Kaleb was the owner of a silver cup, probably left to him by relatives, and Friends had been minding it for him until his apprenticeship was finished. He had had much illness before his death, his mistress having had but little service from him. He expressed the wish therefore that the cup should be given to her as a token of his gratitude, "he being sensible of her care and tenderness towards him". There had been some discussion by Friends as to whether the cup should not be sold and the proceeds given to a Friend in want. We are glad to read, however, that they carried out the boy's wishes and gave it to his mistress and supplied the needy Friend in another way.

On one occasion, in 1689, the Meeting appointed two of its number to inquire into a quarrel one of its members had had with his master the Marquis of Worcester, the Friends report: "Ed Man reports that upon discourse wth James Lowtie abt: the rude abuse he gave to the Marquis of Wooster as this Mtg ord: to should be dealt with about

it He the said James Lower sd he had given the said Marquis satisfaction by acknowledging his fault & desiring his pardon, & he is now again employed by the said Marquis."

Holding our monthly meetings as we do at the commencement of the month we are not faced with the same difficulty which Friends of Enfield Monthly Meeting had in 1695 when they had to rearrange the meeting day in order that they might uphold their testimony against the setting apart of a special day to celebrate Christmas. The minute says: "The next monthly meeting happening to fall upon the day called Xmas Friends will be engaged to keep open their shops. It is therefore concluded that the Meeting be adjourned to the 26th of the next month being the 5th day of the week."

It must be remembered that few of the First-day meetings in this neighbourhood were held once a week regularly. More often they were held alternately with adjoining meetings, not necessarily within the same monthly meeting. Special arrangements under the care of the Quarterly Meeting were made. For instance Mimms belonging to Enfield M.M. alternated with Mill Hill belonging to Westminster M.M. and Tottenham belonging to Enfield M.M. alternated with Stoke Newington belonging to Peel M.M. Thus members of small meetings were encouraged and strengthened by the visits of Friends from a distance. Truth was proclaimed at regular intervals in a number of places rather than continuously in only two or three.

In 1705 Quarterly Meeting gave permission for Winchmore Hill Meeting to be held fortnightly instead of monthly, for there was a slight increase of Friends in the neighbourhood. Three years later the local Friends subscribed towards the cost of rebuilding the tenement near the meeting house belonging to Friends, which had been let for many years with the adjoining field for £5 per annum. In 1694 £3 10s. had been spent for straw to thatch and for thatching this tenement, but, it had now fallen into decay and been pulled down. In order that the Meeting's poor should not suffer through the loss of the income, which had been given to them, the Friends of the Meeting decided to rebuild. They appealed for help, urging various reasons upon subscribers, one of which was "that none might be discouraged to give who are charitably inclined or disposed

to help so good a work intending the same to continue pursuant to ye will of the donor to the use of the people called Quakers for ever ”.

The list of local subscribers is headed by William Crouch giving £5. In the evening of his life he had come to live at Palmers Green where he died two years later, and with his wife Ruth was buried in Winchmore Hill Burial Ground. Formerly one of the foremost early Friends, he is specially known to us to-day for his account of the rise of Quakerism in London. From this we obtain many valuable details of names and places about the first meetings, including the information about the first Wheeler St. Meeting held in John Oakeley's house in Spitalfields. John Freame and Thomas Gould contributed £3 each and Samuel Waldenfield £2 ; he was a powerful preacher of this time, living near Winchmore Hill. In the testimony issued by Enfield M.M. after his death they say, “ His ministry was helpful, he was punctual to his word and promise and just in his dealings, he exhorted Friends to good life and conversation, without which he often signified our coming to Meeting was a pretence to religion.”

Tottenham Meeting commencing in Bridget Austell's house was afterwards held in the homes of Richard Claridge and Alice Hayes and it was not until 1714 that a meeting house was built, the Meeting for Worship was still held on alternate First-days but in 1717 for the sake of the aged people and children, the Q.M. gave leave for it to be held every First-day. The letter asks for the opening of Tottenham Meeting House every First-day “ for friends incresing very much in those parts [it says] there are not coaches to be hired to carry a quarter of the number of friends to other meetings that are able to pay for the same ”. It also states that “ when the meeting is not at Tottenham there are about 40 or 50 that get not to meeting at all we having some aged and many children for whom 'tis dangerous to walk so far to other meetings in the heat of the day or in wet weather. We also conceive that the opening of Tottenham Meeting every first day may be an ease to Winchmore Hill and Enfield Meeting which we believe you find are often overcrowded by the friends that resort thither.”

Amongst the signatures to this letter are those of Thomas and Mary Hutson. Recently an old house in Tottenham

was having its roof repaired and amongst the rafters the workmen discovered some old letters, dating from the year 1709. Many were so dirty and torn that it was impossible to decipher them, but others were quite legible and amongst these were several written by this same Mary Hutson, she gives her address as "Tatnam", the old spelling, the recipient of these letters was a young man named Daniel Bell, then living in Long Acre, but who shortly afterwards settled in Tottenham and became a member of Enfield Monthly Meeting; he was the ancestor of many well-known Friends, among his descendants was the mother of Elizabeth Fry. One of the letters in the collection came from one Elizabeth Stamper living at South Street or Southgate. It is dated 1709 and there is rather an up-to-date sound about part of it; it is addressed to Daniel Bell in Long Acre, near Charing Cross, and says, "Dear Cosen, we are in want of a maid and Mary Hutson told us that your maid was going away and if not provided thought she might do for us. If thou goes to St. Albans on 1st day we shall be glad if thou wilt come here on thy way but if not going to St. Albans we shall be glad of thy company at Winchmore Hill."

The M.M. Minute Book records that on one occasion Thos. Hutson had to appear at the Sessions held at ye Rummer Inn in Enfield, later known as the Railway Inn, near Market Place.

I must also draw your attention to another name on this document, that of Alice Hayes who died in 1720 and was buried at Winchmore Hill. The Monthly Meeting issued a Testimony which was published as a preface to the account of her life, which has much of interest in it. She was evidently greatly beloved and her ministry much appreciated by Friends of the district.

To come back to Winchmore Hill, we find that in 1718 the Meeting there had so increased in numbers that the partition in the meeting house was taken down. It was probably placed there in the time of widow French's occupation. The year before this, the M.M. considering the great inconveniency of the coaches coming into the yard at Winchmore Hill Meeting House desired John Freame to get a post set up in the gateway in order to prevent them coming into the yard. In 1746 repairs were made to the wall of the burying ground, elm trees were cut down and the

wood sold for the benefit of the Meeting. David Barclays, Senr. and Junr., Jos. Freame and Jonathan Bell contributed for the drainage of the burial ground in 1758; and in 1791 the meeting house having fallen into disrepair it was rebuilt, with a tenement for a doorkeeper and a considerable addition to the wall of the burial ground. The list of the subscriptions included £50 each from Samuel Hoare, Senr. and Junr., and Isaac Walker of Arnos Grove, Southgate. The last was an ancestor of the famous Walker Brothers, cricketers. This is the actual meeting house now in use, rebuilt on the site of the old one. In 1796 David Barclay, Isaac Smith, Samuel Hoare, Junr. and Jos. Osgood gave £100 each to be invested as a fund, the interest of which was to be applied as follows, one shilling a week to the resident doorkeeper in addition to his M.M. allowance for taking care of the building and keeping the ground in decent order and the remainder for repairs as needed. The fund was later augmented by other gifts and still exists to-day.

From the commencement of the nineteenth century for a number of years the Friends at Winchmore Hill seem to have been very few. John and Lydia Catchpool were faithful members from 1803-58. There is a Journal of John Catchpool in MS. at Friends House, but it is mainly introspective and contains very little of topical interest. The Monthly Meeting testimony to John Catchpool describes him as a corn chandler and baker at Winchmore Hill and says "he was a constant attender of the small Meeting held in that village". In his Journal he refers to Josiah Foster opening a School at Southgate, the boys attending Meeting at Winchmore Hill. The School afterwards moved to Tottenham. Lydia Catchpool left £100 to the Trustees of Winchmore Hill Meeting.

In this later period of the M.M.'s history Tottenham Meeting became a large and influential one and about 1791 the name of the M.M. was changed from Enfield to Tottenham. No doubt many of the Friends living at Tottenham often brought their famous visitors to attend the country meeting at Winchmore Hill and Friends from all parts of London would gather in the burial ground on the occasion of funerals. John Fothergill, the founder of Ackworth School, who died in 1780, was buried at Winchmore Hill,

it is said for the sake of privacy, but seventy coaches and chaises followed his funeral procession.

Thomas Shillitoe, the famous shoemaker-preacher, must often have been at Winchmore Hill but his story belongs to Tottenham Meeting. John Catchpool in his Diary writes : " Thomas Shillitoe shines as an example amongst us."

Archibald King has drawn attention to the record of two burials of Frenchmen during this year, perhaps refugees, they were the Marquis of Longchamp and Joseph Peter Le Bretham, who was a teacher of languages at Tottenham.

In 1823 Elizabeth Fry recorded in her Journal, " Since I last wrote I have attended Winchmore Hill Meeting to my satisfaction together with my dear Sister Elizabeth, Wm. Allen and my Brother Samuel whose company I enjoyed."

And so the years passed. Going through the Minute Books I found the application by George Farrington and his wife for Membership in the Society of Friends ; those names form a link with the present. A little girl of six used to look on with mingled awe and wonder when George Farrington regularly every week solemnly mounted a meeting house form and with great deliberation wound up the clock just before first-day morning meeting began, the old Caretaker Azariah Cooke was past such work but quietly he sat in this corner seat and in the summer would gently offer a little posy of flowers to the little girl as she passed out of the door. The meeting house had a gallery then and from it dear old Martha Treadwell often ministered to Friends' needs. The words are forgotten but the real Quaker bonnet she wore (the last to be seen in Winchmore Hill village) is remembered as framing a sweet and sympathetic face. Sitting on a hassock threading beads at the Missionary Helpers' Union Sewing Meeting was a delight of those days, the teas given by the women Friends of the Meeting in return are remembered as part of the afternoon's enjoyment.

Then come the years 1914-18. To the New Year's social gathering were invited the Belgian family who were kept at the cost of the Meeting in a house in Hopper's Road. At the tremulous singing of the Belgian National Anthem tears and laughter mingled, along with " Auld Lang Syne ".

At another such party there was a Christmas Tree, the Meeting was entertaining this time " alien enemies ", German

mothers and children from the neighbourhood, whose husbands and fathers were in internment camps.

So we come to the present time and the present company who in faith go on making the story whose earlier chapters we have heard.

IRENE L. EDWARDS

Records of Tottenham Monthly Meeting and of earlier constituent M.Ms, with missing volumes noted

THOSE preserved are deposited in the Library at Friends House and are the sources of information for the preceeding paper.

Waltham Abbey M.M. Minutes, 1673-1691.

Enfield M.M. Minutes, 1689-1699; 1699-1709*; 1709-1718; 1718-1739*; 1739-1756; 1756-1778*. * are missing.

Account Book, 1675-1702, with other papers including certificate for Christopher and Francis Taylor's removal (with family) to Pennsylvania, 1682.

Tottenham M.M. Minutes, 1778-1883.

The following sources were also used :

MSS. Portfolio 16, Nos. 41, 50; Port. 41. Nos. 38, 39. Original Records of Sufferings, 35, 50, 373, 413, 422, 424. Six Weeks Meeting Minutes. Second Day's Morning Meeting Minutes. Journal of James Jenkins (1761-1821). Journal of John Catchpool (1798-1846).

Printed. *Journal of George Fox. Short and Itinerary Journals of George Fox. Journal of Thomas Chalkley* (1675-1741). *Memoirs of Alice Hayes* (1657-1720). W. Beck and T. F. Ball: *London Friends Meetings*.

Lancashire Women's Quarterly Meetings

Minute Book

LANCASTER Meeting House is rich in original MSS. of our Society.

The *Book for the Women's Quarterly Meetings in Lancashire ; to record, and register those things in, that doth belong to their service for the Lord, and his truth, in the aforesaid Meeting for this county*, begins in 1675 and continues down to 1777.

There were then seventeen Particular Meetings in Lancashire, grouped into four Monthly Meetings. The Quarterly Meetings met only twice a year, usually in the 4th and 7th months (June and September) or early in 5th and 8th months, always at the time of the Men's Quarterly Meetings.

Every Particular Meeting was expected to send representatives, but sometimes grief is expressed for non-attendance, especially when this was repeated from the same Meeting. Once or twice old age, ill-health, or anxieties owing to persecution are mentioned as reasons for inability to attend.

"How things are in every Meeting", testimonies against the payment of tithes and "repairs of the steeplehouses", "papers of condemnation" (e.g. in cases where Friends had given in to the persecutor, but had realized their mistake, and had repented), marriages by a priest, are among the concerns brought before the Meetings, but the spiritual refreshment was the most important matter, or as one minute describes it "that all women Friends" in future shall "take due care in every Meeting, when such Meetings are appointed (both married and unmarried that are come to years of understanding) that they be diligent to be at the said Meetings, that so when they are met together, in a weighty sense, and in the fear of the Lord, everyone may give in a true account, how it is with them ; and how they feel, the testimony of the Lord settled in their hearts, which is able to abide the suffering, and to resist the temptation when there is occasion."

Finance is never mentioned—that seems to have been left to the Men's Quarterly Meeting—and there is nowhere a minute recording the appointment of the clerks. However, it is obvious that the first clerk was Sarah Fell, the able daughter whose activities ranged from the keeping of the "Swarthmoor Hall Account book" to the learning of Hebrew, to understand the Scriptures the better. From 1675 to 1680 (the first sixteen pages), her beautiful handwriting records the excellently expressed minutes, in, what is more rare, consistent spelling and perfect punctuation. In 1681 Sarah married William Meade, and moved to London and Essex. The new clerk still never signed her minutes, but in 1686, the custom began of several women signing, or at least of the clerk signing for several. The youngest Fell daughter, Rachel, who had in 1682 become the wife of Daniel Abraham of Manchester, was the last signatory in 1686, and the minutes from 1685 for several years seem to be in her hand.

Among the signatures are those of Margaret Fox, who always heads the list if she is present, and who continued to cross the treacherous sands of Morecambe Bay to attend these Meetings at Lancaster until 1698, within four years of her death at the age of eighty-seven. Another signatory is Eleanor Haydock, wife of Roger Haydock, a well-known Friend of Lancashire, who is mentioned several times in Sarah's Account Book.

Ellen Coward, who also signs, was the wife of "Henry Coward, a prominent Friend living at Lancaster, a grocer, ironmonger, etc." (*The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, p. 521.) William Stout in his autobiography, says that Ellen Coward was "one who took her ease, and took no notice of trade, or anything, but indulging her children". Still, she was a very regular attender at these Women's Meetings.

Two married Fell sisters frequently sign, Mary Lower who with her husband Thomas and family, divided her time between Swarthmoor, Marsh Grange (her mother's birthplace), London, and Cornwall; and Rachel Abraham.

Alice Salthouse belonged to an Ulverston family, one of whom was Thomas Salthouse who laboured much for Quakerism in South-West England. Sarah Backhouse and Margaret Withers belonged to well-known Yealand families.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Sarah (née Foster) wife of John Abraham, Margaret Fell's grandson, attended the Meetings. She lived at Swarthmoor Hall until the sad sale of 1759.

Lydia Lancaster was sometimes there. She was described in 1710, as visiting Meetings, though a young woman, but with her friend attended "with the authority of elders . . . women well-gifted and fitted for the service of Truth, especially Lydia". In 1714, Henry Gouldney calls her "a woman of extraordinary qualifications . . . she may well be accounted of the first rank". (W. C. Braithwaite: *Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 426.)

In 1754, Lydia Mellor signed as clerk. She was a Manchester Friend. In 1748 her son, Ebenezer had married Margaret Abraham, John and Sarah Abraham's daughter, and these two became the ancestors of the Irish Shackletons.

Some pages of the old Minute Book consist of the testimonies against the payment of tithes and dues for the repair of steeplehouses. The faithfulness with which this was done, and the suffering endured, continued to 1713. In the Swarthmoor Meeting, for example, there were sixty-four testimonies, sixty-eight in Yealand, forty-two in Lancaster, twenty in Manchester.

After Sarah Fell's marriage, no clerk quite came up to her power of expression, but these women's minutes are, I think, often better than the men's minutes both in language and handwriting! In 1692 the Meeting is concerned that every particular Meeting shall have a schoolmaster or schoolmistress for their children, "that so Truth's languages may be kept to, and so as much as possible youth may be preserved from the corruptions that is in the world". Later come appeal after appeal, specially to the young, to avoid superfluities, and the "formalities and fashions of the world".

Margaret Fox in her old age had written (1698) against the movement for eschewing "the colours as the hills are", and going into uniform grey, but after her death we find the Women's Meeting minuting thus (1704): "Farther we tenderly request and desire that whereas advice in the Love and Council of God hath gone forth in the Meeting against superfluity in tying and broadening of their handkerchiefs upon their breast and let a decent tying be come into, and that friends of every Monthly Meeting take care that friends

keep clear of having their hoods made with superfluity and long tabs, and so that all the youth dress their heads decent and as becomes Truth."

In 1717 mothers were asked to "keep out of superfluous fashions, cutting and powdering the hair and needless pinches in the forehead manties with short skirts or any other dress that are not consistant with Truth". In 1719, in spite of the earlier minutes, evidently "superfluities" continued, alas, and in addition some Friends must have been "wearing something in their petticoats in imitation of a hoop".

As the years roll on, the minutes become more and more formal and monotonous, sometimes the spelling and writing are very bad, and there are frequent changes of clerk. But down to 1777, when the minutes cease, Friends are still nobly refusing to pay tithes, they faithfully visit each other and other Meetings, they are exhorted to read the Holy Scriptures in their families, and to keep out of "the spirit and corrupt friendship of the world".

ISABEL ROSS

Bridget Draper, *née* Fell

BRIDGET was the second daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell, and was born at Swarthmoor Hall, Ulverston, Lancashire, probably in 1635. She was therefore about 17 years old when George Fox first came to her home in 1652. During 1660 she was left in charge of home, family, Meeting and estate, while her mother was in London pleading with Charles II for the release of George Fox, then in Lancaster prison, and she was faced with the constant difficulties due to persecution from Colonel Kirkby and others. Her letters to her mother show the strain. On 26.i.1662 (O.S.), Bridget married John Draper, of Headlam, Durham, son of a Friend, Henry Draper.

As nothing whatever except one reference to the settlement of her estate was known after her marriage, it has been thought during the last thirty years that she died

mentally afflicted (see note on page 96 of H. Crosfield's *Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall*). Fortunately my research among the Swarthmoor Letters enables me to disprove this supposition. Two letters written to Margaret Fell by William Caton, who had formerly been her own secretary and her son's friend and companion, refer to Bridget. Nine days before Bridget's marriage, her mother had written to William Caton telling him of the approaching wedding at Swarthmoor Hall, and William wrote back to tell her of the pleasure it was to him that she—like her elder sister Margaret who had married John Rous of Barbadoes two months earlier—was marrying a Friend. (Swarth. MSS. I, 328.) Then on 13.ii.1663 (O.S.), William Caton wrote from Amsterdam to Margaret Fell, "Before my return out of England I had heard the sad and unwelcome news concerning the death and departure of dear Bridget, which thou may be assured came exceeding near me, but what shall I say? We must go after her, for here we have no continuing city, oh that we always therefore may be found in that faith, life, power and spirit, through which the entrance is made into the eternal inheritance." (Swarth. MSS. I, 330.)

I am indebted to Amy G. Wallis (Darlington) for the information that the parish register at Gainford records the burial of Bridget's husband, John Draper, on January 13th, 1671 (13.xi.1670 (O.S.)).

Bridget's property on her death must have remained with her husband, but apparently was returned to her own family after his death, as letters of administration for her estate, dated May 22nd, 1671, were granted to her sisters, Sarah Fell and Mary Lower. In H. Crosfield, *Margaret Fox*, p. 96 and note, the date 1678 is no doubt a misprint for 1671.

Bridget died therefore just a year after marriage.

ISABEL ROSS

Giles Calvert's Publishing Career

GILES CALVERT was one of the principal publishers of Friends' books in the Commonwealth period.

An account of his publishing career has been written by Miss Altha E. Terry, of Columbia University Library in New York, who has kindly placed a typewritten copy of her work in The Library at Friends House. She has also compiled a list of over six hundred publications bearing his imprint, of which over one-third are Quaker works. The following article summarizes parts of her paper most closely concerning the early history of Quakerism. We are deeply grateful to the author for the opportunity to print this. If in the course of summarizing any mis-statements have occurred, we ask her pardon. The original paper is fully documented with sources of information and makes an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of one who was closely associated with the first Friends under the Commonwealth, but who appears never to have thrown in his lot wholly with them.

Giles Calvert was a bookseller in London, at the Black Spread Eagle, St. Paul's Churchyard. He was the son of George Calvert of Mere in Somerset, "clerk", and had a brother George Calvert. The year of his birth is unknown. He was first, in 1628, apprenticed to William Lugger, a bookseller, for nine years, but his indentures were cancelled for a reason undiscovered. Fresh indentures were taken out in 1632 for the remainder of his term with Joseph Hunscomb. He took up his freedom on 25th January, 1639. He was appointed, with Henry Hills and Thomas Brewster, to be an official "printer" to the Council of State in 1653. The appointment does not seem to have lasted very long, but his favour with the authorities probably enabled him to publish Quaker books without restraint. He was questioned once in 1656 but no action seems to have been taken against him. After the Restoration, in 1661, he was imprisoned for publishing a pamphlet, *The Phœnix of the Solemn League and Covenant*, but was released after a few weeks. Both Calvert and his

wife Elizabeth were imprisoned for a time and became much reduced in circumstances. There are conflicting accounts as to the date of his death, but his will proves he died in August, 1663, being made on the 11th and offered for probate on the 28th of that month. His widow carried on business as a bookseller till 1675, frequently in trouble with the authorities. Her will, dated 1674, shows that she died a Baptist¹.

He was among the earliest of the publishers who were not themselves printers. Six hundred and three pieces printed by Calvert have been traced. Many of his earlier issues were sermons and religious treatises. Notable among them was *The Souldier's Pocket Bible*, sixteen pages of extracts from the Scriptures specially selected to strengthen "the inner man" of him "that is a fit souldier to fight the Lord's Battels," (1643). This is probably the *Pocket Bible* which tradition says was supplied to Cromwell's soldiers.

Interests closer to Quakerism are shown by his publication of works of John Saltmarsh, sometimes classed as one of the Seekers, and of William Dell, whose works circulated widely among Friends, in the eighteenth as well as the seventeenth century.² Both these men were leading preachers in the Commonwealth armies. Richard Baxter describes them as "the two great preachers at The Head-Quarters". Calvert also published works by Hugh Peters, Independent, Chaplain to the Council of State, who was executed as a regicide in 1660.

Another regicide, John Cook, figures in the list of Calvert's authors, once with a bitter and somewhat scurrilous pamphlet justifying the trial and execution of the king.

He produced three of Jacob Boehme's works, the *Epistles* in 1649 followed by *The Signature of all things; Concerning the Election of Grace [or] Predestination*; and by *Aurora*, the last in 1656. During the same period he published seven pieces by Henry Nicholas, the founder of the Family of Love, viz. *The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*;

¹ Facts for the above mainly from H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers*, . . . 1641-1667. (1907.)

² Both Dell and Saltmarsh are described by Rufus Jones in *Studies in Mystical Religion* and are by him placed with Fox and Winstanley among those who found the Light which the Seekers were groping for.

The Revelation of God ; An Introduction to the Looking Glass of Righteousness ; The Joyful Message of the Kingdom ; Spiritual Tabernacle ; The First Exhortation of H. N. to his Children and An Apology for the Service of Love.

The appearance of these ten from Calvert's bookshop at a time when he was publishing so many Quaker books, is evidence that the earliest Friends probably read both Boehme and Nicholas.

A certain sympathy with the more dangerous views of the Ranters, so often repudiated by Friends, is perhaps shown by the issue in 1650 of *A Single Eye, All Light and No Darkness, or Light and Darkness One*. The author of this was sought for at the order of the Parliament and one Laurence Claxton, a Ranter, confessed to it. The copy in Thomason's collection in the British Museum has a note that Calvert printed it.

The strong equalitarian political views of the Levellers found support in Calvert, who published John Lilburne's *Agreement of the Free people of England*, a work closely likened by G. K. Fortescue to the *Social Contract* of Rousseau. Even in 1649 this brought down authority's heavy hand and the licenser lost his appointment, though the publisher did not suffer. Two other Leveller works attributed to William Walwyn had appeared in 1646 from the sign of the Black Spread Eagle.

Close to the Levellers, but more directly concerned with economic than political equality, were the Diggers, led by Gerard Winstanley.¹ About half of his twenty-three works bear the imprint of Giles Calvert, while the rest bear no publisher's name. The first of many Quaker writers to be published by Calvert is Isaac Penington, many of whose works, beginning in 1648, bore the imprint of "The Black Spread Eagle".

The direction of Calvert's interests and sympathies, already shown, becomes more marked after 1650, when he begins to print many works by Friends. Though he only published a small proportion of the total output of Quaker

¹ His teaching was in so much in the same spirit as that of Fox and other early Quaker writers that it seems certain that it was his death that prevented his finding his place beside them. Nothing is known of him after 1652, nor when he died.

literature at the time, no less than thirty-three works by George Fox and thirty by James Nayler bore his imprint.

His close connection with Friends is shown in a letter by Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, dated 21.v.1655,¹ where we read that "on ye 4th day there was a generall meetinge of friends in this City [London] and both Geo[rge Fox] and Jam[es Nayler] was there and many preciousse friends was there and towards y^e latter end thy husband [i.e. Judge Thomas Fell] came with Giles Calvert into the meetinge . . . afterwards Jas. N. and I passed downe to Giles Calverts ". This places Calvert in a Friends meeting in the close company of George Fox, James Nayler and Alexander Parker and shows Friends visiting his house. Martha Simmonds, the wife of Thomas Simmonds, another printer, was an ardent and unwise follower of James Nayler. One Giles Calvert was fined as a Friend in 1676. Whether this was the bookseller's son is not known, though his will shows he had a son named after him.

The following is a list of some of the better known of the Quaker authors for whom Calvert published works: Thomas Aldam, Christopher Atkinson, Anne and John Audland, Gervase Benson, Edward Billing, Edward Burrough, William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Margaret Fell, George Fox, George Fox the Younger, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberton, James Nayler, Alexander Parker, James Parnell, Anthony Pearson, Isaac Penington, George Rofe, Martha Simmonds, Humphrey Smith, John Stubbs, Thomas Stubbs, George Whitehead.

So well known was he as a publisher for Friends that the *Bible* which he published in 1653 became known as the "Quakers' Bible". Another publication of special interest is *A Spiritual Journey of a Young Man towards the Land of Peace, to live therein essentially in God* . . . translated from the Dutch, which he put forth in 1659, and which is listed among possible sources of influence on John Bunyan for his *Pilgrim's Progress*.

A somewhat elaborate scheme for a communistic society, very much in keeping with the radical experimental character of the times, written by Pieter Plockboy, was published in the same year. It is entitled: *A Way Proposed to Make the poor in these and other Nations happy. By*

¹ Swarthmore MSS. I, 162.

bringing together a fit suitable and well qualified people unto one Household—government, or little Common-wealth, Wherein every one may keep his propriety and be imployed in some work or other, as he shall be fit, without being oppressed. Being the way not only to rid those and other Nations from idle, evil and disorderly persons, but also from all such that have sought and found out many inventions to live upon the labour of others. It was intended to put it into practice at once and Calvert was to supply the address of the author to enquirers.¹

From 1656 Giles Calvert's publishing for Friends declined rapidly. His sister Martha was the chief of Nayler's unbalanced followers. It may be that he sympathized with Nayler in such a way as to estrange him from the leading Friends. He did, however, publish a tract for George Fox as late as 1658. In 1659 Robert Wilson, a Quaker publisher, began to use an imprint with the same address, "The Black Spread Eagle," near the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, though Calvert was still using the same. Their connection is not clear, but apparently Wilson ultimately succeeded him. Calvert was thus a publisher whose publications spread, not only Quakerism, but other advanced opinions of his day, propagating thoughts on social and constitutional affairs which have influenced English life in succeeding years.

Some other references to Giles Calvert and his wife: Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena*, Part II, 1646, p. 9; do., Part III, p. 62. George Fox: *The Great Mystery*, 1659, p. 235-236. Swarthmore MSS. I, 303. Letter from G. Taylor to Margaret Fell, 1658. MS. Portfolio 15, 26. Letter from W. Dewsbury to Thomas Aldam, 16[57]. Swarthmore MSS. I, 162, Letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, 1655. A. R. Barclay MSS. 157, Letter from Bristol for Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, c/o Giles Calvert in London, no year date. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, under 1653, 1656, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1667, 1668, 1670, 1674. Wills at Somerset House, London, of himself and his wife. A fuller bibliography is contained in Miss Terry's MS.

¹ Had John Bellers read Plockboy's work before he planned his *Proposals for a College of Industry*, published in 1695?

Friends' Schools at Ipswich (1790-1800) and Colchester (1817-1917)

IPSWICH

IN the Strong Room at the old Ipswich Meeting House was found an old Minute Book which witnessed to the fact that a century and a half ago Friends in East Anglia were to the fore in the endeavour to advance the course of Education. Four years after the founding of Ackworth School, and at a time when Islington School (now at Saffron Waldon) was the only other Friends' public school, a conference of delegates from the Quarterly Meetings of the three Counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk and of the city of Norwich met at Ipswich (18.iii.1783) "for considering the propriety of establishing a Boarding School for the education of Friends' children". "It is unanimously agreed, That the establishment of a Boarding School for Boys, in a suitable situation, would be of great use to the Society of Friends in these & the adjacent counties, & is a matter that highly merits encouragement." The town of Needham was selected as the suitable situation, especially as a commodious house was to be had there. Later in the year another meeting was held at Needham Market, when it was decided to hire the house for £35 per annum, and to enquire for a suitable Master. Six years later the school had not yet been commenced, presumably for want of a suitable master.

In 1789 the project was revived at Bury St. Edmunds, apparently because a suitable Friend offered as a Master, and delegates to a conference were appointed by the Quarterly Meetings concerned. It is interesting to notice that the first name on the list of Essex delegates is that of John Kendall, whose bequest to his own Quarterly Meeting of Essex was later instrumental in establishing a Friends' Boarding School at Colchester, while Joseph Gurney (later one of the first Trustees under the Kendal bequest) acted as Clerk to the conference. This time the first Minute of the meeting reads: "That the establishment of a Friends

Boarding School for Boys would be of great use to the Society in these & the adjacent counties ; & that one for Girls would also be very desirable ; but that it seems most expedient first to establish a boys school, & that endeavours be used speedily to effect the same." (Minute 1.)

The meeting then decided to search in Needham, Ipswich and Bury for a suitable house ; meanwhile subscriptions were to be collected in order to provide a fund of £1,000.

" William Candler having offer'd himself as master, & he appearing eligible in conjunction with proper assistants, it is propos'd as an encouragement to him, or any other friend that may be approved in future, that he shall be provided, with a house for five years, rent free, that the house be furnished for thirty boys, & the furniture remain the property of the subscribers : & further that if the number of boys during all or any part of said term, shall be less than thirty, there shall be an allowance to the said master, after the rate of five pounds per annum for every boy short of that number, provided such allowance shall not exceed fifty pounds per annum, . . ." (Minute 5.)

It was considered that £1,000 would be sufficient to furnish a suitable house, to pay the rent, at any rate for five years, and to subsidize the Master until such time that the school should be self supporting.

" The charge for board & teaching the English Language, Writing, Arithmetic, & Merchants Accounts " was fixed at 15 guineas per annum, with the addition of 2 guineas for Latin, " & so in proportion for other branches of literature ; each boy to bring with him one pair of sheets."

A month later it was reported to the conference that there was a suitable house for sale at Bury, " in an airy situation very near the meeting house " ; while at Needham a suitable house could be rented from the beginning of the next year, but at Ipswich the only house that could be found was too large for the required purpose, and could only be had by purchase for 1,000 guineas. " The several situations that thus occur, were distinctly & weightily consider'd, & on mature deliberation, it is the solid sense & judgment of this meeting, that the opening the institution at Needham, appears most likely to promote the essential benefits thereof." (13.ix.1789.)

Later on it transpired that the tenants of this house could not find another to which to remove ; it also became evident that somewhat extensive alterations would be necessary. So the committee authorized William Candler to look for some other temporary situation where the School should be commenced. By this time a sum of about £900 had been subscribed, and enquiry had been made for an assistant master to teach French, "and it appearing that I. Bonice, a young man now resident in the Island of Jersey has been proposed for the situation, & that tho' not a member of our society, he has the character of a serious religious man well qualified in literary accomplishments, John Kendall & Saml. Alexander are requested to join Wm. Candler in making further enquiry respecting him". (27.x.1789.)

A temporary situation for the school was found in a house at Ipswich, and £250 was spent in adapting the house for the purposes of a School.

By this time Wm. Candler and his advisers had engaged, "David Dent (a young man recommended by David Barclay) a member of our Society, who has received his education & since been employ'd as an assistant in Ackworth School, & who appears to be properly qualified for instructing the children in Writing, Arithmetic & Merchants Accounts & the English Grammar. Also Augustine Goods alias Bonice who appears properly qualified to teach the French & Latin Languages. With respect to David Dent the terms of compensation propos'd are £20 for the first Year, £30 if he continues a Second & £40 the Third Year ; also board washing & lodging. On the part of Augustine Goods als Bonice were read sundry letters & testimonials of a very satisfactory tendency, the terms he proposes are £50 p. Annum with board washing & lodging." Wm. Candler was to pay these salaries out of the children's fees, but the committee undertook to refund him £50 of this. (17.iii.1790.)

The next business was to draw up Rules and Regulations. Amongst other Rules were the following :

Rule 9.

The School was to be confined to the children of Friends, and it was "the wish of the Subscribers that all Parents or Guardians of Children desirous of having them educated

in this School, may be dispos'd to have them appear consistent with our religious profession in plainness of dress, language, & behaviour".

Rule 11.

"If any Lad who shall be sent to this School should discover a particular propensity to vicious habits, it is recommended to the Master that if after a suitable tryal for reform it cannot be effected, he may be dismiss'd the School."

Another Rule was, "That there be only one vacation in the year", which should "not exceed one Month's duration".

The school had a successful first year, judging by the following letter from William Candler to Atkinson Francis Gibson (MS. in the safe at Saffron Walden Meeting House).

Ipswich 11th of 12th month 1790.

Esteemed friend,

Understanding thou wished to have the perusal of our School Rules, I send thee a Copy, & also of the Minutes of the last General Meeting; Joseph Leaper being present at the Committee Meeting & taking a Copy of what was done then I omit the transcribing them here.

As a kind Patron of our Institution thou art undoubtedly solicitous for its Success, in respect to which I have with pleasure to observe that the Encouragement given to it in the first Year of its existence has at least equal'd the most sanguine expectations. Our present number of Boarders is 24, & we have received intimation of several others to come, one of which is a Son of la[te] John Barton's¹ of Hertford, out of which County we have not yet had any.

From the experience of one Year, I don't find but the occupation tho' a careful & confining one, is pretty well adapted to my Constitution & Disposition, & not in any respect less agreeable, to my Superior-half, & from what has hitherto occur'd we know not but it is an allotment in the right line. In respect to literary Education, as our Teachers in their respective departments are both capable & assiduous, I have not much doubt of the Pupils improving to the satisfaction of their friends.

¹ Bernard Barton, bank clerk and Quaker poet, 1784-1849.

Thy kinsman F. Impey is very well, as is also Rich^d Day, & we are at this time so far favour'd with health as not to have an invalid in the family.

Please to present our love to thy Wife, also to thy Father & Mother & T. & S. Day.

My Wife uniting with thy affectionate frd

WILLIAM CANDLER

I presume thou wilt not construe into a slight my declining at present to solicit for thy Son as a pupil, for though we have been entrusted with the care of divers as young, he will probably be better fitted for a boarding school some time hence. Notwithstanding we have had a good account of him.

In November, 1790, a committee report that they have examined into the state of the School at Ipswich, and find it agreeably conducted, and "have extended such advice as to them appear'd suitable". But more room is required, so an adjoining house was to be acquired if possible.

Next year it became evident that even with the addition of the adjoining house the accommodation would be insufficient, so several Friends were appointed to look for more suitable premises.

At a General Meeting held on 23.ix.1792, respecting the school established at Ipswich it was decided to call another Conference of Friends of Essex, Suffolk, & Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meetings to consider the advisability of purchasing the house that had hitherto been rented, and of building extensive additions, or, alternatively, of buying a piece of land on which to erect an entirely new building. In either case a sum of from £1,000 to £2,000 would be needed, which "money is proposed to be raised by Subscriptions of £50, £100 or any larger sum to be lent to the Institution at £3 per Cent per Annum".

For some reason Essex Friends were loth to share in this plan; was it because a school at Ipswich was too far away for them? It will be remembered that the school had originally been planned at Bury or Needham, and that the Ipswich site was intended to be only a temporary one. Now that it was proposed to establish the school permanently at Ipswich, Essex Friends appeared to lose their enthusiasm; at any rate only one of them supplied any

money on loan ; the other Meetings raised about £1,200. After this there were sometimes no representatives from Essex present at the committee meetings, on other occasions John Kendall, of Colchester, was the most regular attender.

Finally a house with about an acre of land in "an airy part" of the town was purchased for 500 guineas, and it was agreed to make additions to the house at a cost of £630. (19.ix.1792.)

Meanwhile the "Committee having been fully engaged respecting the Premises have not had Opportunity so particularly to inspect the Conduct of the School as would otherwise have been desirable". Apparently the number of boys taking French and Latin was not sufficiently large fully to occupy the time of Augustine Goods als Bonice, for we read that, "The french Teacher having offered his Service to the Public at Large, it appears necessary to make some Alteration in his Terms ; Which Wm Candler . . . is desired to settle." Augustine Bonice refusing to accept a lower salary in consideration of the fees which he received for lessons given outside the School, his place was taken by Peter Darancette, at a salary of £30 per annum.

During the next year the committee gave greater attention to the conduct of the school, as is shown by the following Minute : "This Meeting being much concerned in observing in the Apparel of divers of the Children at this School a considerable deviation from that plainness of dress which the Principles of our Religious Profession lead into, & having taken the same into solid consideration, do earnestly desire that such as have, or may have, Children at this School would seriously attend to the desire express'd in the 9th Rule for the Government of this Institution, & the Governor is directed to hand a Copy of this Minute & the said Rule to all such Parents or Friends as may in future make application for Children to be admitted." (20.iii.1793.)

By the fifth year of the school's existence all the money originally subscribed, together with the £1,300 collected on loan, was spent, so another subscription was levied in order to raise £200 to complete the accounts for the year, " & the Frds. of Essex are more particularly requested to subscribe liberally, as only one frd. in the County has advanced money for the purchase of the estate & Building". (30.iv.1794.)

It had now become evident that the School would not be self supporting unless the fees were raised, so Wm. Candler was authorized to increase the fees from 15 guineas to 18 guineas per annum, " & to take one Guinea entrance instead of Sheets ".

Four months later (25.viii.1794) the Treasurer reported that the only sums subscribed towards the £200 needed for completing the year's working were one guinea from Simon Maw and £1 10s. od. from John Birkbeck.¹ The prospect did not appear a promising one ; nevertheless Wm. Candler offered to try and run the school without any financial help from the committee, and to take over the furniture in lieu of the payments that would have otherwise been due to him at the end of the current year. He was to pay the committee £39 for the rent of the building, and this would be just sufficient to pay the interest on the money advanced on loan by Friends.

Now that Wm. Candler had taken over the school, the annual General Meeting of Subscribers was discontinued, but a committee of nine Friends was appointed " to assist & advise with " him.

The next entry in the Minute Book is dated five years later (3.vii.1799), and records Wm. Candler's notice of his desire to relinquish the school at the end of the year, or sooner, if a successor can be found before then. So the committee summon another General Meeting of subscribers, who desire the committee " to offer the premises upon the (same) terms to David Dent ; & should he incline to engage with the Institution they are allowed to liberate Wm. Candler from it, as soon as David is ready to take the charge upon him ".

But the committee failed to find any successor, for we read that at a meeting held at Ipswich School the 9th of first month of the year 1800, " David Dent having refused the proposal of the last General Meetg., . . . information of the want of a Master has been transmitted to all the Q^{ly} Mgs. but no friend offering to take that place, & Wm. Candler having now left the premises, This Committee appoints a Gen'l Meetg to be held at Ipswich . . . to consider of the best mode of disposg of the concern ".

¹ Later on, Essex Friends subscribed £48 towards the £200 needed.

At the end of the month the General Meeting was held, and the last Minute in the book reads, " It appearing to be the general judgement of this Meetg that the purpose for which the School premises were bought is now passed by, & there being no probability of its being renewed, this Meetg. is of the judgement that the same be sold for the most money that can be made thereof. This judgement being approved by the sentiments in writing of the absent proprietors, this Meeting therefore authorizes & requests Jno. Head the Trustee for the said premises to advertize the same to be sold by public auction at such time & place as he shall judge most expedient & proper ; & as soon as the sale is completed to pay to the proprietors their respective proportions of the nett money arising from said sale." (28.i.1800.)

So ended the ten years' history of Ipswich Friends' School. Up to the present we have been unable to discover the site of the school or of the building used temporarily during the first two or three years.

The failure of the scheme must have been a keen disappointment to many Friends who had devoted so much time and money to its execution. But there was one at any rate, an Essex Friend, who felt that the object at which they had aimed must not be neglected, though a lesson which he had learned by his experience of the Ipswich School was the apparent necessity of an endowment if such a School was to have a real chance for success. So he talked things over with his cousin, and the two of them, John Kendall and Francis Freshfield, decided that they would bequeath a sufficient sum of money to enable a school to be established in Colchester on similar lines to the one which had existed at Ipswich.

Four years after the close of the Ipswich School John Kendall drew up a will in which he left the sum of £2,000 to be administered by trustees whom he named. The annual income arising from this money was to be paid " to a Schoolmaster being one of the people called Quakers who shall keep a Boarding School in Colchester or near thereto, for Boarding & teaching of Friends Children of the Society of People called Quakers which Schoolmaster my will is shall from time to time be chosen & appointed by the said Trustees . . . & be approved by the Meeting for Sufferings in

London & the Quarterly Meeting of Essex." " . . . he shall teach & instruct in Reading Writing & Arithmetic Six poor Boys whose Parents are not well able to pay for their Schooling & who shall be recommended by the Monthly Meeting of Colchester." If there were not a sufficient number of Friends' children to provide 6 such boys, the places might be occupied by " the sons of persons who are not members of the said Society, but who shall be of sober & good Life & Conversation ". The income from the trust was to be used merely by way of teaching fees, & not to provide " Lodging Board Books or other necessities for any of the said six Scholars ". This practically meant that they were to be day scholars. The schoolmaster might not increase the total number of day scholars beyond 16, unless they were all Friends. The master was to be qualified to teach Latin as an optional subject. " My Will is that no Girls shall be admitted into the said Establishment."

It will be seen that the whole scheme had been carefully thought out. John Kendall even considered the question of a suitable library for the school, and proceeded, in his will, to bequeath many of his own books, both printed and in MS., to the school, together with " all the Book Cases on which my Books are placed and my Mahogany Book Case in two parts with glass doors in the upper part of it for the better accommodation of the said books ", also " my two Mahogany Writing Tables ". In the course of time, as these books become more and more out of date, the Trustees were embarrassed to know what to do with them, seeing that they were bound to keep them, suitably stored, in the School. Further to ensure the carrying out of his wishes, John Kendall appointed his cousin as his executor. Then the cousin, Francis Freshfield, proceeded to make his will, in which he inserted a clause as follows: " I give & bequeath to the Trustees appointed under the Will of my cousin John Kendall of Colchester Gent., for instituting & establishing a School for the education of Friends Children in the said Town of Colchester the sum of Five hundred pounds to be applied to the same uses & purposes & subject to the same limitations & restrictions as are expressed in the Will of the said John Kendall & to be paid within Twelve months next after the said School shall be settled & approved by the Trustees appointed for the management of the same."

Francis Freshfield died a few years later, in 1809 ; so John Kendall had to appoint a fresh executor of his will. Jno. Kendall himself died 1816, and the school which he had planned was established in 1817, and continued under successive masters for exactly a century.

COLCHESTER

The first meeting of the trustees of the Colchester School was held 23.x.1816, at Devonshire House. Present, William Grover, Thomas Catchpool, Atkinson Francis Gibson, Samuel Gurney, Luke Howard, John Corbyn, when it is recorded that " Robert Goswell Giles having proposed to open a Boarding School at Colchester . . . this Committee agrees to consider him as the School Master for the purpose of the Trust for the year 1817."

A meeting held 10.vi.1817 at the school house minuted that " It is pleasant to find that six Boys, the Offspring of poor Persons, have been admitted into the School, gratis, . . . by the recommendation of Colchester Monthly Meeting." In 1818, Robt. G. Giles having resigned, Isaac Clark succeeded him, and was recognized by the trustees (28.v.). Five years later, the following letter was read from Isaac Clark to John Corbyn : " Esteemed Friend, Various discouragements having occurred in the way of my continuing the school, I have concluded after deliberate consideration to relinquish it at mid-summer. . . . If a successor should present, the premises I occupy, which are desirable in almost every respect, may be retained." (26.v.1823.)

Next year, at a meeting of trustees held at Harlow, " After solid consideration it is agreed to give to Thomas Grimes the benefit of the said Trust funds . . . on condition that he gives his undivided attention to his school at Colchester. The Trustees in taking a view of the present state of his establishment, & under a desire to witness its prosperity, incline to press upon his attention at this time a diligent, but more especially a guarded & religious care over those who may be placed under his charge. It will be obvious from the above assignment of the last Midsummer dividends to Thos. Grimes that the Trustees desire his encouragement & the prosperity of the school, & that it may be conducted

in a manner which will warrant the Trustees to continue the payment to him of the dividends from year to year in the future." (18.x.1824.) Not exactly an enthusiastic adoption of Thomas Grimes as the new Headmaster. Evidently the trustees were not quite comfortable about the appointment, nor did the advance of time tend to reassure them, for we read, of a meeting of the trustees held at Grace Church Street, London (20.v.1831). "The Trustees are of the judgment that the Schoolmaster appointed under the Trust is to educate the six boys nominated by the Monthly Meeting of Colchester not only well & satisfactorily, but also in a kind manner, & further the Trustees will feel themselves under obligation to that Monthly Meeting or its committee for a report from time to time in accordance with this conclusion." Next month, the trustees decide to hand over the care of the six scholars exclusively to those of their number who reside in Essex. From subsequent entries we gather that the trustees asked Thos. Grimes to resign his post, but for some time were unable to prevail upon him to do so. However, on 30.v.1838, a letter was read from Thos. Grimes, "Respected Friends, It being now more than twelve years since your formal appointment of me as Master of this School & not having met with that encouragement from 'Friends' generally which I had anticipated & which I advisedly apprehend from the views of the founder & the nature of the endowment I was justified in expecting I deem it most proper at this juncture to resign the charge, which I now do, into your hands, & remain respectfully Thos. Grimes."

The following record was placed on the minutes at the same meeting: "It was also proposed that when any master may be appointed in future that he should give to the trustees a valid engagement to resign the said appointment & office when required, the Trustees giving Six months notice thereof, & that he will conform from time to time to the directions & instructions of the Trustees."

For more than a year the school was in abeyance, until, at a meeting at Colchester (27.viii.1838) Edmund White Watts of Charlbury was appointed for one year, upon the condition that he execute a bond under a penalty of £250 to resign when called upon by the trustees, after 6 months' notice. For 20 years E. W. Watts ruled the school, and

affairs were apparently left pretty much in his hands ; but in 1858 we read (8.vi.) :—" The Trustees having had an interview with Edmund White Watts the master of the School & having taken into consideration the present state of the School think it right to express their opinion that it is not now answering the intention of the Testator as expressed in his Will & they desire to suggest to Edm^d White Watts the serious consideration of his present position & of the course it may be right for him in consequence to pursue, of which they wish to be informed by the 14th of 9th month next." This brought the following reply from E. W. Watts : 13.ix.1858, " Esteemed Friends, Your communication of 6th month 9th being altogether discouraging with regard to my carrying on the School for a time on a small scale, as I proposed to you & being under the necessity of removing to fresh premises I have taken a small house not suitable for a Boarding School to which I intend to remove at the expiration of the present quarter. Perhaps it will not be thought out of place to allow the Six boys on the foundation to complete the present half years schooling but with regard to them I wait your directions. I should be obliged if you would allow the Library to be removed at once to its more permanent place rather than to my intended residence, I am respectfully your friend Edm^d W. Watts."

For five years the School again lapsed, in spite of advertisements in *The Friend* and elsewhere. So the Trustees discussed a scheme for the extension of the benefits of the Trust. However in 1863, " Joshua H. Davy, who is about to open a Boarding School at Colchester for Friends' sons having presented himself in the 4th Mo. to the Trustees, with the view of being approved by them, in order to receive the income from John Kendall's School Fund ; & having produced satisfactory testimonials of his qualifications, the Trustees have now agreed to his appointment as soon as the school is opened." (9.vi.1863.)

Soon after this a memorial to the Charity Commissioners was directed to be prepared, " for permission to dispose of John Kendall's Library, the same having proved a great incumbrance to the Trust ". This library consisted of about 1,030 volumes, numerous pamphlets and some manuscripts, and, continues the Memorial, is " composed chiefly of Latin, Dutch & ancient English books ". " In consequence of

many of the books being printed in the Dutch character the Trustees have never been able to make a catalogue of them. They seem mostly religious books." "Owing to the large space which the library occupies, & the difficulty & expense of removing it from one house to another, whenever the Boarding School is removed which has occurred several times, it has proved a troublesome incumbrance to the Charity." "The Library has proved almost entirely useless as regards any benefit to the Master, assistants & scholars; & it is peculiarly liable to injury in a school." Next year, 1864, permission was given for the sale of the Library. The sale realized more than the Trustees apparently expected; they had always insured the library for £150, but the gross proceeds of the sale came to £314 4s. 6d., in addition to £3 2s. od. for the Bookcase, shelves and table. The net proceeds were £270, with which another £300 Stock was bought.

In 1867, at Devonshire House, a letter was read from J. H. Davy, stating that his circumstances obliged him to give up the school. It was agreed to advertise. After an interval of a year and a half an application was received from Frederick Richardson of Bishop Auckland and acceded to (xi.1868). For some time after this there were apparently no meetings of trustees, and several between 1877 and 1883 were concerned only with appointments of new trustees.

In 1890 Frederick Richardson applied for a sum of £110, balance of unapplied income, which accumulated previous to his opening his school in 1869. He pointed out that the Foundation boys had always had the opportunity of taking the full curriculum with him, that he had sunk £800 in providing improved accommodation, and that the late fiscal changes of the Government reduced the trust income by £8 5s. od. The trustees handed over £40, "as a small acknowledgement of the satisfactory way in which he had for the past 20 years conducted the school"; and decided to add £70 to the existing capital (8.iv.1890). Ten years later, a minute records that "The Trustees have received from the Master a report as to the general state of the School, & they desire to record their appreciation of the excellent manner in which the School has for many years & is at present being conducted by Frederick Richardson who has held the post of Master for 31 years."



Fred Richardson



Sarah Richardson

In 1903, Frederick Richardson wrote, “. . . I feel that the time is near when, between bereavement & the advance of age, I shall have to place in their hands my resignation of the office which they committed to me in the latter part of 1868.” “During many years . . . the majority of the boarders were Friends” or Attenders, at one time reaching a total of 24. Now only 2 Friends amongst the boarders, and 5 not boarders. His daughter-in-law (Julietta M. Richardson) had been “a model in her household management, & her affectionate care of the pupils”. (2.iv.1903.)

Before F. Richardson's plans for disposing of his school were complete, he died, 28.iv.1903. In response to the following letter from Julietta M. Richardson's mother, the latter's request was agreed to: “Dear Friends, I have arranged with the Executors of the late Frederick Richardson to take over the Lexden School, as from Aug. 1, 1903. I am retaining Mr. Nicholls as head master & I look happily forward to the time when my Grandson Eric H. Richardson may see his way to join me here & eventually to take over the school himself. Under these circumstances I hope that the Trustees will be able to continue the endowment to me as under the late proprietor, Yours sincerely Julia Mary Theobald, Lexden School, June 6, 1903.”

Three years later, a Letter was received from Julia M. Theobald, giving notice of her intention to give up the School on the 25.xii.1906. It was decided to advertise for a successor and in August 1907 an application came from Ferdinand E. Gröne of the High School, Colchester, a recorded Minister of the Society of Friends. He explained “the methods he proposes to adopt with regard to the teaching of the boys school about to be established. It is intended for the boys & girls to be taught separately & also that the recreation should be quite separate. The entrance to the Girls school rooms is by Hospital Road & that for the boys by Wellesley Road”. The proposal was agreed to by the major part of the Trustees, but two of them did not consent, “in view of the difficulty which exists in strictly conforming to the terms of the will”, with regard to the clause prohibiting the admission of girls. These two Trustees favoured an application to the Charity Commissioners for wider powers. No other Meeting of Trustees

was held until ten years later, when "The Trustees have arrived at the conclusion that the School is no longer conducted as a 'Friends' School' within the meaning of the clauses of John Kendall's will, & that the Headmaster has made arrangements which involves giving up the Control of the School to masters who are not members of the Society of Friends." (ix.1917.) At a meeting at Colchester (8.ii.1919) it was decided that "in view of the circumstance that the Society of Friends now possesses a sufficiency of good educational establishments it is extremely unlikely that a school will in future be opened at Colchester under conditions enabling the Trust Funds to be allocated according to the exact terms of the will". Next year, at Chelmsford, the following suggestions were considered: (1) Extension of powers to enable trustees to establish scholarships at existing Friends' Schools, (2) Powers to enable financial aid to be given to the Kendall Almshouses Trustees. (3) Extension of powers to other educational purposes than those stated in the will, and for girls as well as boys. (8.iv.1920.) A year later, at Colchester, it was decided to apply to the Board of Education for a new scheme for the administration of the trust, and in February, 1922, a new scheme was submitted by the Board of Education, enabling the trustees to give boys financial assistance to attend Friends' Schools. This new scheme was finally sanctioned on June 6th, 1922.

Thus disappears the Colchester Friends' School, but the good work initiated by John Kendall still continues. Since he made his will a number of Friends' Schools have been established in the country, and on a larger scale than that contemplated by him; while one of the few previously existing Friends' Schools has found a home in John Kendall's own county, and I venture to think that it would be a source of gratification to him to know that his legacy is of real use, in these financially difficult times, in enabling boys to obtain an education at one or other of the Friends' Schools, which they might otherwise miss.

C. BRIGHTWEN ROWNTREE

Further information about Frederick Richardson may be found in a *Memoir by Two "Old Boys"* privately printed in 1903, in *Annual Monitor* 1904, and in *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1904.

Some Thomas Ellwood Documents including his Will

I

THE will of Thomas Ellwood's great-grandfather, Walter Gray of Crowell.

In the *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, Wyeth's Edition, p. 2, we read :

"What my Father possessed (which was a pretty Estate in Lands, and more as I have heard in Monies) he received, as he had done his Name *Walter*, from his Grandfather *Walter Gray*, whose Daughter and only Child was his Mother."

Walter Gray's Will is preserved in the Oxford Consistory Court, Series II, Vol. IX, f. 66.

"In the name of God Amen. The Sixth day of February in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred thirtie and eight. I Walter Gray of Crowell, Co. Oxon, clerke . . . advisedlie thinkeinge on my dissolution and mortallite . . . I am subiect notwithstandinge I am nowe sicke in bodie yet of perfect mynde & memorie thanks be given to god for the better prepareinge myselfe to meete my Saviour doe institute this my last will and testament in manner & forme following First I comend my soule unto Almighty God that gave it me assureinge (my?) selfe I shalbe presented blamelesse before [Him ?] onely by the merritts of the bloudie death and passion of Jesus Christ my Saviour. *Et tanto securioribi habito quanto potentior est ad Salvantu* and I will that my bodie be decently buried in the Chancell of Crowell aforesaid. Nowe touchinge my lands and worldlie possessions wherewith God hath blessed and enriched me I dispose of them as followeth."

First I give and bequeath to Walter Ellwood sonne of Walter Ellwood & Elizabeth his nowe wife the sume of twoe hundred pounds of lawful monie of England the which sume I wille shalbe pad by the said Walter Ellwood the father his executors or asseyntes out of the rente & yerelie reveueus of a certaine messuage lands and tenements in the precincts of Stoakenchurch Co Oxon nowe in the tenure & occupation of Henry Bigges under the yerely rent of fyve & twentie pounds by lease thereby reserved & graunted by me the same legasie & porcon of twoe hundred pounds to be paid when the said Walter Ellwood the sonne shall fullie accomlishe the age of twentie one yeres.

Item. I give and bequeath to Elizabeth Ellwood the daughter of the said Walter Ellwood the father the like sume of twoe

hundreds pounds . . . One of the same hundred pounds to be paid her at the full age of seventene yeres or daye of her marriage first happeninge & the other hundred pounds to be paid within fyve yeres . . . nexte ensueinge the payement & daye aforementioned for the first 100 pounds.

To Mary Ellwood "one other daughter of the said Walter Ellwood the father the like sume of twoe hundred Pounds" . . . at 17 years or daye of Marriage first happening £100 & the other £100 "within fyve yeres . . . next ensueinge the payment or daye mentioned for payment of her first hundred pounds".

To Walter Ellwood sonne of Walter Ellwood "one hundred markes of lawfull monie of England" when 21 years of age.

To Elizabeth Ellwood the daughter aforesaid "100 marks to be paid at age 16 or daye of marriage," same bequest to dau. Mary aforesaid. And if it happen any of the foresaid children to decease before their several ages or tymes herein before menconed for the severall payments of the said severall sumes or porcons, then my will and meaninge is that his or her porcon sum and sumes of him or her deceased shall remayne and be paid to the survivour and survivours by equal and [word illegible] porcons.

To said Elizabeth Ellwood the daughter "my best bedsted with the vallence curteynes rods & orros [=arras] & my best fether bed & boulster & my covered [i.e. quilt] & one chest with the lynnyn therein being in the chamber over the parlour".

"Item I give & bequeath to the foresaid Mary Ellwood my 2nd best fether bed beinge in the chambere where heretofore I usually laye & one coffer with the lynnyn in the same".

To said Elizabeth & Mary the daughters of Walter Ellwood "Pewter & brass to be equally divided betweene them," to Elizabeth one silver salt and to Mary "halfe dozen of silver spoones".

To Elizabeth Ellwood the *wife* of said Walter Ellwood "one silver bowle".

To Richard Graye sonne of my brother Hugh Graye £10 "to be ymployed towarde the furnishinge him to be made Master of Arts and not otherwise".

To Joane Graye daughter of my brother William Graye £4.

Here follow various minor legacies.

To "Walter Ellwood my daughters sonne & to his heires for ever all my messuage lands tenements & hereditaments whatsoever with their rights members & appartments lyeinge scituate or beinge in Crowell aforesaid or within the precincts thereof to have & to hold the same to him the same Walter Ellwood his heires & assignes for ever".

To same Walter Ellwood the "Adwowsion of Rectorie and parsonage of Crowell aforesaid and my right of presentacon & patronage of the Rector of the Church of Crowell aforesaid."

To the same Walter Ellwood "all my messuage & Cottage, tenements & lands woods woodgrounds & hereditaments whatsoever with their appurtenances scituate being within the precincts of Stoakenchurch in Co Oxon".

All rest of goods "cattells & chattells"—not given, "I give to said Walter Ellwood him I make & ordeyne my sole executor".

Probate granted 21 May 1641.

The will was made the year before Thomas Ellwood's birth. He was therefore placed at a great disadvantage in comparison with his elder brother and sisters, being wholly dependent on his father, while they had money and household goods coming to them at their majority.

Considering that Walter Gray left £10 only to one of his Gray nephews "towards the furnishing him to be made Master of Arts", and that he left a substantial legacy to Thomas's elder brother Walter, the withdrawal of Thomas Ellwood from the grammar school at Thame in order to maintain his brother at the University, could only have been the result of gross extravagance on the part of his father. It is interesting to find Walter Gray showing the interest in learning which reappeared in his great-grandson.

It seems very unfair that when Walter Ellwood the younger (Thomas's brother), died (before 1660), his father should not have made over his portion to Thomas, unless, of course, young Walter willed it elsewhere. We read in the *History* (p. 12) that he fell "under the Displeasure of my Father, for refusing to resign his Interest in an Estate which my Father sold". Perhaps the elder Walter was determined to have his younger son firmly under his thumb.

II

Marriages celebrated at Crowell during the Interregnum by Walter Ellwood as Justice of the Peace. From MS. copy in the possession of the Genealogists' Society.

16th May, 1655. Nicholas Allen and Elizabeth Mortymer.

2nd July, 1655. John Shell and Abigail Stacy.

III

Will of Thomas Ellwood. P.C.C., Leeds 101.

"I Thos. Ellwood of the hamlett of Coleshill, parish Agmondesham als Amersham, Co. Hertford, Gent., being through the tender mercy and great goodness of my gracious God of a sound disposing mind memory and understanding (for which I return most humble and hearty thanks unto him) and considering with myself the certainty of death and uncertainty of the time thereof" makes his last will and testament.

“ Imprimis that I may cut off all pretences of claims and thereby of contention from any related to me I give the sums of 5s. unto every person related or of kindred to me by consanguinity in the degree of first cousins who within six months next after my death shall come in person to receive it and shall make proof unto my executrix ”.

Cousin Mary Baker “ neice of my dear deceased wife 10 pieces of gold called Guineas ”.

£25 to cousin Mary Odingsells¹ daughter of my cousin John Odingsells late of Rest Park, co. York, gent., dec.

£25 to Cousin Ann Hatwell wife of Benjamin Hatwell of London, gold beater.

£25 to Cousin Alice Cheatham of Hockton, co. York, if alive otherwise to her daughter “ my cousin Mary Heart ”.

“ Such others of the relations of my said wife as she my said cousin Baker shall judge to have most need thereof.”

£30 to the children of my cousin Elizabeth Dean deceased, viz. Brasbridge Dean, Charles Dean, Ellen Dean, all under 21.

To Cousin Mary Baker six chairs and one stool “ Which are now at her house being of needlework wrought by my said dear wife and I desire her to leave them at her death to such of my said wife’s relatives as she shall think most fitt for ”.²

To each of my loving friends Daniel Wharley and Mary his wife one peece of gold called a guinea ; to their four sons, viz. Daniel, Isaac, Henry and Edward Wharley “ I give that legacy or summe of £50 which in and by the last will of John Penington dec., their uncle is given unto me and not yet received by me ”.

To my “ young and hopefull friend Isaac Penington, son of my late friend Edward Penington dec., and grandson as well on the the father’s side, unto my dear and honoured friend Isaac Penington as on the mother’s side unto my well beloved and much esteemed friend Samuel Jenings late of west New Jersey in America, dec.,— and all my lands tenements etc., being within the province of Pennsylvania or elsewhere in America.”³

To friend Mary Phillips “ who lives with her uncle Daniel Wharley aforesaid my two shares in the Pensylvania Company which her said uncle Wharley bought for me ”.

“ Unto my namesake Thomas Ellwood, grandson of my good friend Anthony Ellwood of London, £20 ”—under 21.

Loving friends Daniel Wharley aforesaid and William Grimsdall of the parish of Peters Chalfont, co. Bucks, maultster £10 “ to be distributed for the help, relief and benefit of such of my poor friends called Quakers as they shall judge most fitt to receive the same ”.

Loving friends James Smith of Alisbury, salesman and Joseph Steevens of Chipping Wiccomb maultster, both Co. Bucks. £20 to be imployed for “ the putting forth of two or more boys (as they shall see meet) being the children of honest friends called Quakers, apprentices to some such honest trade as they shall judge most suitable and can most easily procure for them ”.

£5 to be distributed within three months of his death " amongst such of my poore neighbours of what religious persuasion soever living within the Hamlett of Coleshill aforesaid ".

Rest of estate after payment of funeral expense (which I would have to be plain, not costly) " I give to my well deserving servant Dorothy White, as a due reward for her long, faithfull carefull and kind service to my dear wife during her life and to myself since ".

Said servant, Dorothy White, sole executrix.

Loving friends James Smith and Joseph Steevens, before named, overseers and a guinea each for their trouble.

He declares it to be his last will and testament, " written with mine own hand and contained in two sheets of paper fastened together at the top with a wreath of twisted parchment and there sealed down with my seal ".

21st August, 11th year Queen Anne, 1712. Witnesses Nehemiah Wilmott, Thomas Purcas, John Gibson.

Probate 15th May, 1713, by Dorothy White, executrix.⁴

Notes

¹ A Mary Odingsells appears in the Upperside Minute Book, as living at Peter's Chalfont, but was married in 1684 to Peter Prince.

² The legacy of the six chairs " being of needlework " shows that the Ellwoods were not the plainest sort of Friends.

³ There is a note concerning Thomas Ellwood's property in Pennsylvania in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 31.

⁴ A second grant of probate (Leeds 101) is dated 9th April 1715, and records that on application by Abraham Dee, the husband and Administrator of Dorothy Dee, formerly White, now deceased, who when living was the Executrix and Residuary Legatee named in the Will of Thomas Ellwood, late of Coleshill, deceased, administration of the goods unadministered by Dorothy Dee was granted.

The substance of the foregoing documents was kindly transcribed for me by my cousin, Edmund N. Snell.

BEATRICE S. SNELL

The Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk

(Concluded from vol. xxxiv, p. 58)

By ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON

AMONG the differences between the Quarterly Meeting in the eighteenth century and the present day the most important, perhaps, is the spirit manifested in the relationship between Norfolk Quarterly Meeting and its subordinate Meetings and the strictness of supervision exercised over them, both in its concern regarding any signs of slackness and in its readiness to afford encouragement and help when, through decreasing membership and other causes, weakness and difficulties appeared in any part of the County.

On various occasions from 1713 to 1770, concern is expressed when representatives fail to attend the Quarterly Meeting, and letters were sent to the Monthly Meetings, whose members had thus neglected their duty, requesting that steps might be taken to ensure that this should not happen in the future. The following minutes are typical of Quarterly Meeting procedure on this head.

4th mo. 1713. This Meeting finding Stoake Meeting to be remiss in their Duty, being ye sixth Quarter since any were here to Attend ye Service of ye Quarterly Meeting, have Order'd a Letter to be sent from this Meeting, to Stirr them up to their Duty.

7th mo. 1713. Notwithstanding that from ye last Quarterly Meeting a Letter was sent to Stoak Meeting to incite ye frds. to there duty, in attending this Quarter Meeting, Yet none have attended this Meeting ; therefore this Meeting desires Michael Williams to acquaint there Monthly Meeting therewith ; in ord. yt they may be prevaild upon, to the dischargeing of there sd. duty ; and give an acctt. to ye next Qur. Meeting.

4th mo. 1714. This Meeting having Recalled over ye Meetings, and many Meetings Representatives being

awaiting, this Meeting Adjourns untill ye 2d. hour this Afternoon precisely.

From time to time a subordinate Meeting would request the aid of Quarterly Meeting in their affairs, and a ready response was invariably accorded to such an appeal. In 1st month, 1738, for example, the Monthly Meeting of Hingham request assistance "to enable them to revive the good & Wholsome Discipline in their Church which the Rules of our Society do require", and eight Friends are appointed to attend their Monthly Meeting, who presented an encouraging report at the next Meeting, viz., "Edmd. Gurney reports that the Friends appointed to visitt the Mo. Meeting of Hingham at Wymondham did Visitt the said Meeting att the time & place appointed & found the Business of their Mo. Meeting much better done than they expected & that they hope the said Meeting will be able to do the Business of their Society in a regular & proper manner."

In 1751, visits were paid to the Monthly Meetings of Lynn and Wymondham, and the Friends appointed for this service report that they had "much Comfort & Satisfaction in their Visit". Two years later, a visit is paid to the Monthly Meetings of Tivitshall and Lynn, "to afford such assistance & advice, in a Spirit of Love and Meekness, as they in the Wisdom of Truth shall see needful".

In 1754, four Friends are appointed to visit Thetford particular Meeting as the members "do not join themselves in a proper manner to the Monthly Meeting of which they are a Branch". The report states that "there appeared a Disposition in the few Friends belonging thereto, properly to attend the Monthly Meeting of which they are members", and suggests that Wymondham Monthly Meeting might, at a convenient time, be adjourned to Thetford, so that the special difficulties of local Friends might receive full consideration. The isolated position of Thetford Friends received further attention in 1769, when a proposition was forwarded to Suffolk Quarterly Meeting that Thetford particular Meeting should form a part of Bury Monthly Meeting, but an answer was received that "many Difficulties appear incompatible to answer the good Intentions of the Friends of Norfolk; and this Meeting hopes they will be easy their proposal is not complied with".

A pathetic letter was received from Wells Monthly Meeting at the close of 1780, to the following effect :

To Friends & Brethren of Norwich Quarterly Meeting.

Dear Friends, From a weighty & sorrowful Consideration of the low declining State of our Meetings, and the fewness of our Members, which have nearly reduced us to an Incapacity of keeping up our Meetings for Business & Discipline, with that propriety, the Rules & good order of our Society require. It was unanimously agreed by those Members present, to lay this our weak State before you, hoping, that through the wisdom & guidance of Truth, you may be enabled to afford us such Help as may prove most conducive to answer the end of this our necessary Request.

With the Salutation of dear Love, we remain your Friends & Brethren.

Signed in our Monthly Meeting held at Wells 6th of 12th Mo. 1780.

Diatus Derry	John Secker	John Haycock
John Ransome	Joseph Haycock	Joshua Ransome.

It was not until twelve months had elapsed that an appointment of six well-concerned Friends was made to visit the Meeting at Wells, but their report which was presented to Quarterly Meeting in 3rd month 1782 contains features of unusual interest.

According to appointment of last Quarterly Meeting We attended the Monthly Meeting at Wells on the 6th of this Month, & have to report, that we found the Friends favourably disposed to receive our Visit ; They appeared to us to want Help, but we could not discover that the proposed Junction would afford it in the manner they expected ; though it is but right to allow, one great obstruction to the progress & Effect of Discipline amongst them, ariseth from the difficulty of procuring proper appointments for Visits to such as are partly separated from them by Offences, and placed yet more distinctly for want of Care, but who retain a claim to Membership, Love to Society, & seem to us to merit the continued labour of Friends.

We submit it to the solid consideration of the

Quarterly Meeting, how far it might be useful to appoint a few Friends to join them in occasional Visits to such.

Being informed at Wells that the Monthly Meeting at Lynn was adjourned to afford us the opportunity of a Visit, we attended it on the 8th of the present Month ; It appeared to us that the Discipline of the Meeting was too much confined to the formal Record of it's Business, and that the Skirts of the Camp required more attention. We apprehended it our Duty to remind the Friends there, of their scattered Members, & recommended a Union in Labour, under that Influence which alone can preserve from Formality, & maintain the true Spirit of Discipline.

William Bleckly

William Crowe

Thos. Bland.

In the next meeting the Friends on this appointment, "with any other Friends who may be free", are to give whatever help they may feel right to the Monthly Meeting of Wells, with instructions to report to the Quarterly Meeting when occasion shall arise.

The sense of responsibility for the whole membership of the Quarterly Meeting is seen in the letters and minutes that were sent to the subordinate Meetings from time to time. A lengthy Epistle, dated 28th of 10th month 1720, dealing with good order in the Church, was sent to the Monthly Meetings "for them to communicate to their several particular Meetings, to be read in their generall Meetings". Eldership, Marriage, the frequenting of Taverns, and the Testimony against Tithes all receive attention, and there is a paragraph of encouragement and warning to Young Friends, in the course of which the more experienced Friends write : "It is a brave Thing to see the Young Generation thrive in the best Things, in order to which we tenderly Advice them, to keep the Principle of Truth in their own Bosoms."

In 1732, Friends deemed it necessary to send to Monthly Meetings a further warning regarding the slackness of some of the younger members, in the following words :

It having been observed that many of our young friends have of Late taken a Liberty of Conforming

in their language & behaviour to the Customary Salutation & Complements of the times which our friends as a people for wise & good reasons have always Cautioned & advised their members against, & this Meeting taking the same into their Consideration do Seriously admonish the members of our Society to watch over themselves & those under their Care in these respects, for it is our Judgment that the taking such liberties will Expose friends to greater Temptations & be a means of making them Loose that state of watchfulness & Selfdeniall, by which many of our Antients Experienced a being preserved from Joyning with a wicked & Corrupt Generation in such things as would have brought Dishonour to our profession & have wounded their souls.

In 1728, the Quarterly Meeting was seriously concerned at the negligence of Friends in their attendance of Weekday Meetings for Worship, and the following letter was sent down to Monthly Meetings to remind members of their duty in this respect.

Dear Friends, It having been our care at this as well as at our former Meetings to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Brethren who belong to the severall Monthly Meetings in this County in order to know what Spiritual growth and increase is amongst them and how they prosper in the things of God and his everlasting Truth.

And as in this our Inquiry we have to our Sorrow been informed of the great and almost general Decay of the publick Meetings for Worship on Weekdays, which have been long established in the several parts of this County, where Friends inhabitt. We do therefore take this opportunity in a Brotherly manner and in Bowells of tender Love to admonish and Exhort that for the time to come your care in this respect may encrease and our publick weekday meetings be more frequented than heretofore, for surely this Neglect can proceed from no other cause but a decay in your Love to God and an unconcernedness for your Spiritual Conditions.

Remember (we beseech you) the times that are past.

Consider how it was when the Lyon seemed to stand in the way, and outward dangers beset our Friends on every hand: Was not our publick Meetings for Worship (in those days) precious in the eyes of many: and the enjoyment of them more dear to them than the things of this world; Surely Friends it was: because they many times did witness the Lords goodness to be amongst them and were made to feed of that Divine and Heavenly bread which they hungred after, And to partake of that Living water which alone could Satisfie their thirsty Souls.

And altho' these outward dangers are Removed Yet we have a Spiritual warfare that we ought to be engaged in which will prove too mighty for us, without we keep close to our heavenly guide and to the discharge of those duties which are required of us.

Therefore let us again beseech you our Friends and Brethren whatever your Stations may be in the world, to give up your selves to this, and your other religious Duties and wheresoever your Weekday Meetings may have been laid aside, we desire they may be again established and Constantly frequented by you, and we hope and believe that the Lord who has many times been Witnessed in the Assemblies of his people, will appear amongst you and will give you to partake of his goodness to ye encouraging of you in the way you should go, and at last Conduct you to a State of Rest and peace with him forever which is the sincere desire of Your Friends and Brethren,

Signed by order and on behalf of the said Qurly.
Meeting

by Willm. Cay.

Two years later, in 1730, the report from the particular Meetings showed that in some places the weekday meetings were quite laid aside and in other places not so much frequented as could be desired. The Quarterly Meeting, therefore, directed that the Epistle of 1728 should "be again sent to the Severall Mo. Meetings for them to send to their Perticular Meetings In order to have the same Read at the Close of their publick Meetings of Worship that it may have the greater Service amongst Friends".

In 1772, a question arose with regard to the best hour for holding Meetings for Worship, and it was decided to recommend that in all places where only one Meeting was held in the day it should commence at eleven o'clock: the following letter, prepared by Joseph Phipps, was accordingly forwarded to all the Monthly Meetings.

Dear Friends, The Supreme Lord & Lawgiver, from whom we receive our Being, and every spiritual & temporal Blessing, justly requires of us, the first-fruits & prime of our Hearts, and that we present ourselves a living Sacrifice, holy & acceptable to him. In order hereunto, it is our indispensable Duty to come as fresh & lively to our Worship as possible, and not to defer it to that unseasonable period, the Second Hour of the Day, when, after a forenoon's Activity, or Employ, & the indulgence of a Dinner, ease & heaviness naturally take place, and so overpower the minds of many, that instead of attentively waiting upon the great Minister of the Sanctuary, they sit in a State of Indolence; and too many fall into that shameful Situation of Slumbering & Sleeping.

As this hath long been matter of Concern to us, we take this Opportunity to remind you, that the holding your Meetings at a time of day so manifestly improper, necessarily renders them more dull, heavy, unserviceable, dissatisfactory & Disreputable than they might otherwise be. It also often prevents living Ministers, & helpful Members from giving you their Company; divers of whom have declared, that they have not freedom to attend Assemblies so ill-timed, with that frequency & cordiality they might do, were they held at a more suitable Hour.

The usual plea, of inconvenience to your selves, or your Affairs, can have no weight in opposition to a due performance of that solemn Worship required at your hands. We ought not to suffer Concerns of an Inferior Nature, to hinder us from discharging our religious Duty to the great Lord of Heaven & Earth, but in all things, to prefer his Will before our own, and his Acceptance, to our Convenience.

There can be no greater difficulties in the way of this Duty here than in other Counties, where an earlier

Hour is constantly observed, & the benefit of it acknowledged. A willing & truly concerned Mind, will consider, that such Sacrifices as cost us nothing, are nothing worth, and readily resign all self-gratifications, & customary Obstacles, to superior Duty. Let a due regard, therefore, to the publick Worship of our Almighty Creator, upon whom we depend for Life & Salvation, so impress your Minds, as to engage you to break thro' every real, or seeming difficulty; and to order your Affairs so, as in future to assemble cheerfully at an Hour not later than the Eleventh, when both your Minds & Bodies may be fitter for the solemnity of Divine Service; and undoubtedly your Meetings will be more lively, more acceptable to God, and more profitable to yourselves. We therefore recommend this necessary Alteration of the time of your Meetings to you, and remain with the Salutation of Love,

Your Friends & Brethren.

Signed in & on behalf of our Quarterly Meeting held in
Norwich the 30th of 9th Month 1772

By Isaac Jermyn—Clerk to the Meeting.

The effect of this letter was so pronounced that within a comparatively short time practically all the Meetings concerned had complied with the desire of the Quarterly Meeting.

A minute of 4th month 1732 contains features of special interest in regard to the younger members who were finding it their place to take part in the vocal ministry and questions relative to the granting of certificates when they desired to visit other Meetings.

Its earnestly recommended to the Monthly Meetings . . . that they be very Careful to Encourage the Sober & Well Inclined & to endeavour to make them usefull Members amongst them & where it pleases God to open the Mouths of any such wee Earnestly desire that they behave towards them with great Tenderness & if att any time they should think itt their place to Visitt the Brethren in other Countys, perhaps sooner than the said Mo. Meeting could desire, In such Case we entreat that all the advices may be of such a Nature as not to wound but if possible help forward

such Frds. in what is their Real Service, by which means we hope the Young may be helped & Strengthened & brought forward to the Service not only of ours but of all the Churches where their lott may be cast And Further this Meeting tenderly advices that Mo. Meetings be Very Cautious to whom they give Certificates to travell with, & that they do advise such to whom they give them that they do not stay Longer on their Visitts than they are of service, but return to their homes as soon as conveniently can.

It may be considered that undue stress has been laid on the divergences between the eighteenth century Quarterly Meetings and those of our own day, but it should be remembered that these are, naturally, of greater interest than the similarities, of which there are not a few. Many of these differences are due to the stage of development through which the Society was then passing, yet one cannot but feel that a wider vision and outlook are often seen in the matters that now engage the attention of Quarterly Meetings. In spite of this, it may be well to recall the powerful influence for good that a Quarterly Meeting can exercise upon its wide-spread membership, for the value of visits paid to the smaller Meetings and their members by Friends definitely appointed for this service by Quarterly Meeting does not appear to be so fully realized at the present time as it was in earlier days. It is, perhaps, permissible to hope that this concern may again arise in our Meetings, and to believe that if similar action were to be taken it might be the means of a fresh influx of spiritual life and power, both in our Meetings and amongst our individual members.

There is, finally, one fact of supreme importance that emerges from the records. For we find that in those days, as in ours, the spirit that underlies all the varied affairs which have to be transacted is a deep concern for the promotion of God's Kingdom on earth, a keen endeavour to learn and to follow His will, and an earnest desire that all the members of the body may experience the power and leading of Jesus Christ in their lives and be faithful in their witness to the Light.

Two Early Welsh Friends

John Thomas of Welshpool and Bristol, Inventor and Ironmaster

JOHN THOMAS, the Ironmaster and co-inventor with Abram Darby of casting cooking pots in iron, was born near Welshpool in 1690. He was the second of the five sons of Robert Thomas, "who was not a Friend but a sober man", and his wife Pricella Evans. The wife was "a fair Latin scholar and for a while in the service of the Countess Conway". Her parents were Edward and Katherine Evans, said to be natives of Radnorshire, but residing in Welshpool. They were imprisoned in November 1662 for declining to take the Oath of Allegiance, where Edward Evans "being an infirm man and unable to bear the Filth and Dampness of the Place, laid down his Life, the unwholesome Confinement there having hastened his death". He was buried in St. Mary's Churchyard, Welshpool. His wife was imprisoned for five years.

John Thomas was first employed by Thomas Oliver, Coedcowrid, Dolobran, Meifod, "a Minister among Friends". Later he was shepherd to Charles Lloyd, the Ironmaster of Dolobran. Here he succeeded in rescuing a flock of his master's sheep from a snowdrift, and later in the spring of the same year, during heavy rain and melting snow, he swam the river Vyrnwy to fetch home a herd of mountain cattle. These he collected and drove to the river, but the ford had now become a boiling torrent. He nevertheless crossed it on the back of an ox, and brought home the whole herd in safety. As a reward for his courage his master presented him with four of the sheep which he had saved. He sold their wool in order to buy better clothing for himself, and afterwards disposed of the sheep so that he might obtain money wherewith to travel to Bristol to seek his fortune. This was in 1704. Afraid of being taken for a soldier if found in Bristol out of work, it being the time of the Duke of Marlborough's wars, he requested his master to recommend him as an apprentice to a relative Edward Lloyd, a wine merchant who was one of the partners of the Baptist Mills. The boy was accordingly sent into the brassworks until he should procure employment. As he was looking on during the trials of the Dutch workmen to cast iron he told Abraham Darby that he thought he saw how they had missed it. He begged to be allowed to try, and he and Abraham Darby remained alone in the workshop the same night for the purpose.

Before morning they had cast an iron pot. The boy Thomas entered into an agreement to serve Abraham Darby and keep the secret. He was enticed by the offer of double wages to leave his master; but he continued nobly faithful, and afterwards showed

his fidelity to his master's widow and children following the untimely death of Abraham Darby. From 1709 to 1828 the Thomas family were confidential and much valued agents to the descendants of Abraham Darby. For more than one hundred years after the night in which Thomas and his master made their successful experiment of producing an iron casting in a mould of fine sand, with its two wooden frames and its air-holes, the same process was practised and kept secret at Colebrookdale, with plugged keyholes and barred doors.

John Thomas married Grace Zeane in Bristol in 1714, and died in 1760. Their son Samuel settled at Keynsham as a wire drawer, and married Esther Derrick in 1746. They had a son John, born in 1752, who commenced business as a grocer on the Somerset side of Bristol Bridge, the business being still carried on under the name of John Thomas, Sons and Company. In 1776 John Thomas the second married Elizabeth Ovens, of Bristol, and they had ten children. The chief interest of this John Thomas's life was the promotion of waterways for the facilitation of trade, especially the Somersetshire Coal Canal, and the proposed Kennet and Avon Canal to connect Bath with London. John Thomas the second retired in 1812 and purchased Prior Park, near Bath, where he died 3rd 3mo. 1827, aged seventy-five.

The fifth son of John and Elizabeth Thomas was George Thomas the noted Bristol Quaker Philanthropist. He was born 1791 and died without issue 1869.

Sources : Charles R. Gibson : *The Romance of Coal*. London, Seeley Service Co. 1923. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 17, 1920, quoting a pamphlet by J. F. Nicholls, Bristol City Librarian, c. 1870. *Life and Convincement of Richard Davies* : London.

Cadwallader Edwards of Meifod

CADWALLADER EDWARDS, "one of the chiefs of the Quakers of Meifod", in Montgomeryshire, was first a member of the Independent Conventicle, in Dolobran township¹ founded 1640, and the earliest recorded Nonconformist Church in Wales. In 1660 at the approach of the Restoration he was imprisoned at Montgomery for his faith. There he met Richard Davies, the Welshpool Quaker and Autobiographer, and was converted to Quakerism. The first Friends Meeting in Meifod was held in his house at Dolobran 9 mo. (Nov.) 1662. He was again in prison for ten years from 1662-1672 at Welshpool for refusing to swear the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. On his release he became a partner with his fellow prisoner Sarah Wilson in the Parc

¹ Dolobran although the name of the residence of the Lloyds of Dolobran, the Bankers and Ironmasters, is also the name of the township. The neighbourhood has very strong protestant traditions commencing with the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, being captured here.

Mathrafal Iron Forge in the Meifod valley. He died a prisoner for debt in Fleet Prison before 1708.

Thomas Cadwalladr (i.e. Thomas ap Cadwaladr ap Edwards),¹ Dolobran, an educated man who assisted Amos Davies (clerk of the Dolobran Forge) and John Kelsall (Quaker schoolmaster) in 1707 in drawing up Trust Deeds of burial grounds and Meeting Houses was probably his son. Thomas married 4 mo. (July) 1712 Hannah Marchant of Manorbier, Pembrokeshire.

A. STANLEY DAVIES

¹ Until about 1850 Welshmen took their father's Christian name as their surname. When, however, a family came into contact with the outside world, or moved into England, the surname became fixed.

Records from Cirencester

Fettiplace and Bellers

IT would appear to be of more importance than is perhaps generally recognized that the local records of our oldest meeting houses should be carefully examined once or twice in every generation. For all the time fresh material is turning up in the larger world of Friends, and books are being published, which may bring into a quite new importance certain old papers and letters which have lain for centuries in their meeting house chests and strong rooms.

An example illustrative of this occurred at Cirencester, where the papers were last examined fully about 1910. For several years of his life John Bellers, the well-known economist, was a member of this meeting. And the recent interesting study by Ruth Fry led the present writer to see whether further items of value might not be found locally. In particular we noted the statement that the only letter believed to exist in Bellers' own handwriting was in the British Museum. For only the week before reading this, we had found, in a bundle of faded old papers, a note bearing his very clear signature.

This letter from the Cirencester chest, which has now been given by Gloucester and Nailsworth Monthly Meeting to the Library at Friends House, deals merely with the administration of money left by the Fettiplace family for poor Friends of the district. It cannot obviously, therefore, claim a place in importance alongside the intimate epistle from Bellers to Sir Hans Sloane, his fellow-member of the Royal Society, which is in the British Museum. But we have at least secured for Friends House an autograph letter of John Bellers, in what is an unusually accomplished hand, even for educated people of that century. The recipient, Daniel Bowly, was a Quaker citizen of Cirencester whose family appear through the seventeen-hundreds as the leading wool-staplers, maltsters, and bankers of the town.

London
the 24.6 mo. 717

Frd Dan^l Bowley

I suppose John Lewes hath Informed you that I had paid him the Fifty pound, which my Sister Fettiplace Left for the use of the Poor, and that I approved of the proposal made in the Letter sent to me by thee and others of your being Security for the money, & then you may Imploy it as you think Fitt only 5 p Cent a year must be paid for it, to the use of the Poor ;

I did Propose to John Lewes that Isaac Trewland being a Member of the Meeting & the Ablest man belonging to it, (Except thyself) should be One to Signe the Bond, And that all the mony given by my Father Fettiplace and Brother Church (Except the 20^l lost by D. Harding) be aded to it in One Bond ;

The Condition of it should be to secure the Principall whole & the Intrest of it, should goe among the Poor Friends of Cisister,

I propose the Bond should be made upon the above condition to me and my Son Ingram or John Frame & which of them two is not put into the Bond, should have the Keeping of the bond, I am indiffrent which of them two have the keeping of the Bond

I Rest Thy Lov: Friend

John Bellers

The reference to "my Father Fettiplace" introduces an interesting early Quaker personality about whom little has been known. And here emphasis may be laid on the possibility of purely local research at times proving of interest to the Society at large. For it is not in the archives at Friends House that we find details about this somewhat spectacular Giles Fettiplace, Lord of the Manor of Coln St. Aldwyn, who drove to Cirencester meeting in his coach drawn by six horses. It is rather in the records of his own county that we gain information about his ancestors, and the influential position which his family was still occupying when John Bellers married into it in 1686. Buried away in the journals of our county Archæological societies, and the

Local History collections of our county Libraries, there are probably many items of interest about early Friends which may well not be known elsewhere. We have, additionally, in our local Probate Offices, the wills of most of the leading early Quakers of the district, and this is a channel not yet widely explored, which may lead to material of considerable value.

The records of Gloucestershire show that Giles Fettiplace came from a leading county family which had for generations owned large manorial estates near Cirencester. His grandfather, Sir Giles Fettiplace, appeared in 1622 on a commission of enquiry about a land dispute, and it is significant that his fellow-commissioners—Sir William Guise and Sir Thomas Estcourt—were among the most influential knights in the whole county. It was not at all usual for a scion of such a house to become a Quaker, and the impression made in the Cirencester neighbourhood must have been immense.

The date when Giles Fettiplace joined the Society is not yet known but it cannot have been before 1673. This is the date on the old lintel of the Cirencester meeting house, and some pages still exist from the original account book headed: "An acc. of what Friends do subscribe towards ye building of an house." These pages which contain names as well known as that of John Roberts of Siddington, have no contribution from Giles Fettiplace, though after he became a Quaker, he headed munificently every Cirencester subscription list; paying five pounds where the local Quaker merchants pay one, and the rank and file of humbler Friends their shillings, and even their pence.

In 1673, moreover, Fettiplace, as Patron of the living of Coln St. Aldwyn, appointed a certain Richard Hunt as parish priest. One would imagine that this fact alone would conclusively place his membership in the Society at a later date. But an extremely interesting fact which Ruth Fry notes in her book, and which our local Gloucestershire records verify, is that John Bellers, to whom the patronage of the living descended after the death of his father-in-law, actually appointed the next parish priest himself, Quaker though he was. This was in 1703, and it is surely the only case known of such a proceeding. Yet the Gloucestershire Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Minutes of that year, so full of admonitions to those who, "going disorderly in marriage",

have submitted to the usual ceremony by their parish priest, are completely silent on the "heresy" of a leading local Friend appointing the priest.

By the sixteen-nineties, however, Giles Fettiplace was a well-established Quaker, and it is from a collection of letters now in the Bodleian Library that one can realize most vividly the full influence which he must have had on his generation of local Friends. The letters concern the election in Cirencester in 1695, when one of the candidates for Parliament was Henry Ireton, only son of the famous regicide. He was evidently only able to make flying visits to his constituency, and the letters show him as "in ye Camp at Namur" and with the army at Breda. Meanwhile friends are working for him at Cirencester, and they write to acquaint a supporter with Ireton's probable chances. "The Quakers are twenty Voyces," says one informant, "but they are resolved not to poll at all. Yet we found from one who is a considerable shop-keeper . . . that if they polled for any it should be for Mr. Ireton. We were informed that there is one Mr. Fettiplace, a Quaker, who has a very considerable estate, who lives twelve miles from hence at Coln Allens, who could very much influence the Quakers. . . . I went over to him on Tuesday last, but could prevail with him to do no more than what he promised Mr. Ireton (who was with him when he was in ye Country), viz. to engage them not to be against him. . . ." And after further information on other subjects, the election agent returns again to the subject of the Quakers, convinced that the "twenty Voyces" might be secured with a little effort. "Mr. Fettiplace is related to Mr. Ireton's Lady," he adds as a postscript to his letter, "I believe if Mr. Ireton did apply to him it might be well, for he can engage the Quaker to vote if he will."

It would be interesting to collect material from other parts of England to show how soon the early Friends began to take an active part in Parliamentary elections. Here in Cirencester in 1695, they are evidently on the border-line. The days of the persecutions are over when this same "considerable shopkeeper", whom the election agent canvassed, had seen his shop broken into and despoiled. They are fast becoming leading merchants and tradesmen, whose votes are sought. The uncertainty as to whether

they would abstain from voting altogether, or go "all out" for the man they felt the best, is well shown through the letters, and it is a pity that no further records are available to indicate which course was finally taken, and whether Fettiplace did "engage the Quaker" to vote after all. Ireton was not successful in this particular election, though he gained the seat in a later contest.

RUTH G. BURTT

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxxiii., p. 64.

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox", Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journals", 1925. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House.

LII

THOMAS EVERNDEN¹ to GEORGE FOX. *Anamessicks*,
1.iii.1685.

Very dear G.F.

The salutation of my love is to y^e in y^e lord who in this day of his love hath appeared . . . I cannot doe less yⁿ write to y^e to signifie to the how it is with me & how things are hear in thes parts: I was at y^e 8th mo meeting at y^e Estarnshoar² whear I met with Christophar Tailor & Roger Longworth & on[e] Johne: from pensilvania it was a very great meeting The lords presence was with & Amongst us: And his love And unity did Abound soe yt things wear wel thear Tho Huchensun³ I vnderstand hath condemned

¹ Thomas Evernden (originally of Canterbury, early convinced by Isaac Penington, still in England in 1683), in 1685 and 1687 (see LVI below) writes as a trusted and experienced Friend in the then troubled company of Friends in Maryland. He travelled in the Ministry in the colonies ranging from New England to Barbados. In 1685 he was appointed on the Commission of the peace in Somerset Co., Md., and in 1692 with other Friends was refused a seat in the Maryland Assembly because he would not take an oath. He died in 1710. (I. Penington, *Works*; Besse, *Sufferings*; *Piety Promoted First Day Meeting MS.*; Extracts from Md. Archives, by W. I. Hull, in Friends House Libr.; Letter LVI, below and MS. Port. 16, 29; Port. 4, 82.)

² Eastern shore.

³ Thomas Hutchinson, originally of Yorkshire, being one of the creditors of Edward Billing, joint founder of West New Jersey, was part proprietor of that colony. The reconciliation here mentioned was brought about during a severe illness which "brought him very low and made him repent." (Bowden: *Hist. of Fds in Amer.* I, 394; MS. Port. 16, 29.)

his out Runinge And hath given out a paper Against him
 selfe since y^e Meeting hear hat[h] ben A great Mortality in
 this Cuntry several good freinds are taken Away on ye
 Eastarn And westarn shoar as dear Thos: Tailor & his wife
 & brian omelia and sevrall oth^{rs} thear: Will Richardson¹
 hath bine very ile but recovered & many taken away thear
 is a dearth of Corn & deth of Catell in many places & a lose
 of thear tobacco by Mutch wet wether the hand of The Lord
 is Against y^m Manifested but thear are few y^e are sensible of
 it dear Georg it hath pleased y^e Lord to Give me dear
 Katheren Johnson to be my wife who is a Cumfort And
 Anasistance to Me in y^e testimony of truth: being not clear
 of North Carolina I think to goe up thear as the Lord maks
 way severall things hath hendared my going & do yet by
 Reson of sume Especialy on[e] who hath beine on[e] of ye
 longest Convinst in Acamac in Virginea who had a testimony
 in publike for truth for several years y^t brought disonour
 to truth to y^e grife of us all And I fear a stumbling to many
 y^t are weake dear georg lett me have thy prayers to god
 I may be presarved blameles & y^t wisdom may be given me
 to know how to behave my selfe in y^e Church of Christ: hear
 hath bine mutch hurte dun by Reason of unfaithfulnes in
 thes parts but sume Thear ar y^t have kep thear integrety:
 I am going up into Acamac tomorow; if ye Lord will soe
 dear Georg I bid the farwel who Am thy freind in ye truth

Tho Evernden

Anemesey the 1 of ye 3 mo. 1685

[addressed] To Georg Fox in London or Else Whear

[endorsed] 1685 Anamesse 1685 T. Everden to G.F.

LIII

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX. *Maryland*, 21.xi.1660.

Deare George

Whom my soule loveth and whom I honour in the Lorde,
 and who in y^e Life of Truth art deare and prescious to me,
 in which according to my measure which I have receved
 do I dearly salute and Embrace thee Deare George. As

¹ William Richardson was also a correspondent of George Fox
 (MSS. Port. 4, 82; Port. 16, 29, and 118) discussing the difficulties
 of Md. Friends both spiritual and political.

Concerning passages heare, all is quiett as yeat in relating to truth and meetings are presious and y^e Lord manifests his presious presence, and Love amongst us in our asembly and persecution doth not yeat apeare in this province of Maryland ; But y^e spirit therof is Chayned down for a season that y^e Babes may renew theyr strength, for att my first Coming amongst frends heare, A greate weakness was over many, and greate Confusion, and distraction was amongst them¹ [the people], soe y^t y^e sence or feelling of Life was Even Lost amongst many. Chifly ocasioned by theyr Judging on[e] another, for Som run out into words without Life, and others judged raishly with A firey spirit ; and them y^t Sought to rule amongst them, was Lifted up in pride, and many who ware Simple harted, Could not bow to that Spirit. Soe that they were much in Confusion, and Litle unity felt with them. But now theas things are well over, and Life ariseth over it all, and truly it is y^e rich Love of y^e Lord to them to stay y^e hand of persecution for A season, for A greater tim of weaknes was not amongst them, since they knew y^e truth. I have been amongst them about ten weeks, and have at present well nigh cleared my selfe in this province, and am upon pasing down into verginia, to visitt y^e remnant that is there, and to Sound forth gods mighty day amongst y^e heathen ; And as way is made I shall pass to Barbados, and from thence to New England for soe it is upon mee.

Deare George, as Concerning frends Bying A peece of Land of the Sussquahana Indians I have spoken of it to them, and tould them what thou sayd Concerning but theyr answer was, that ther is noe Land that is habittable, or fitt for Cittuation beyond baltimores Liberty, tell they come to (or neare) the susquahanas forte, and besides william Fuller, who was y^e Chiff man amongst frends with y^e Indians, by reason hee was Latt Governor amongst y^e English, hee is withdrawn at present, for thes are of them who are in present authoryty that seecks his Life with much Greedynes, for some ould Matter that they had against him, and theyr Envey is stired up A fresh by reason hee had A hand in y^e Changing of y^e Goverment y^e Last yeare, when they tooke away y^e Authoryty from Baltimore which hath much stired up theyr rage against him, soe that without him ther Can Litle bee don at present with y^e Indians, and besides these

¹ erased, and the next added over by George Fox.

Indians are at warr with A nother nation of Indians, who are
 verye Numerous, and its doutd by som that in A Litle
 space they will bee soe destroyed that they will not bee A
 people, for them selves have spoken to y^e English already,
 that If theyr men are kiled, that they will receve theyr
 wives and Children, and give them food for theyr Labour,
 And one of them sayde farther, that if they were beaten
 (which they never was yeat because they never undertooke
 a bad Cause) then they would Com Amongst theyr Children
 (y^e English) and If they would not receve them as men then
 they should receve them as slaves. Soe that ther is nothing
 Like to bee don in it at present but If it may bee, its Like it
 will bee seen y^e next somer, soe deare george all things
 amongst frends is att present prety well and som heare is
 aded since my Coming, Soe haveing noe more at present,
 but to desier thy prayers for mee, I Remyne

Thyne in the truth

Josiah Coale

Glad in y^e Lord should I bee to receve a Line or toe
 from thee at Barbados it would be the joy of my [life?]
 [partly illegible]

Thes
 For the hands
 of G.F.

dd carfully
 wher he is

[endorsed] J. Coale to G.F.

[by George Fox] from Merreland 1660

LIV

RICHARD JOHNS¹ to GEORGE FOX. *Maryland*,
 28.i.1688.

Deare G.F.

Whome I truly love and honnour in the truth of god of
 w^{ch} the lord have bin pleased to Raise thee up an Instrument

¹ Richard Johns, lived at Cliffs, Calvert Co., Md. He was born
 at Bristol in 1645, convinced by George Fox on his visit to America
 in 1671, and after the death of Wm. Richardson was the leading
 Friend in Md. He was clerk of the Y.M. there for many years,
 d. 1717. (Janney, *Hist. of Fds.* III, 190.)

in his hand to open the under Standings of thousands glory to god for Ever & Poore America have heard the joyfull sound of it and the lords Comfortable presents is felt and Enjoyed amongst his faithfull people Every whare and Such as in this Inocent life doe abide Can Say of a truth god gives them power and dominion over all their Enimies boath Inwardly & outwardly. Deare G.F. I was very much Comforted & Refreshed in thy Company when I had the oppertunity to Speak wth thee once or twice in London and Could have bin glad to have had more Conferrance wth thee but when thou was gone into the Country I was then almost uncapable to vissit thee being altogether a stranger to those parts Soe y^t without a guide it was hard for mee to finde the way y^t my businesse led mee about in London I did acquaint Some freinds in London y^t I had a desire to See thee before I went to Maryland but I perceived their occasions Could not permitt their goeing just at y^t time : yett once I gott a pylate to Edward Manns Country house where I hoped to meet thee but thou was gone from thence :

Deare G.F. I wd not have trouble thee wth these matters but y^t I was not Clearly Satisfied in my owne minde y^t I did not See thee againe before I went the ship goeing Something Sooner then Expected I did wright a few lines to thee w^{ch} in thy letter to us thou Signifies thee did Receive ; but as to the Memorandum y^t thee left & now have lent us concer[n]ing the booke I doe not Rememb^r y^t I ever Saw it untill I see it here in Maryland : but however as it happened I did pretty well Comply wth it for Some of thy primers I Carried and Severall books of the Statutes in Breviates and for answers to the Dirty books wright ag freinds I doe think most freinds in these parts have of them and I doe not Remember y^t I Ever heard of any of them Dirty books y^t Ever was brought into these parts (except one of Rogers) and y^t was kept Soe Close y^t freinds Could never gett it although [] Sought for it to destroy it : thus Deare G.F. I haue given thee a short acc^o how how it was that I did not See thee againe.

Our freinds have Rec^d thy Severall Letters sent this yeare wth the Inclosed Condemnations Epistles, & acc^o of proceedings in our behalfe wth y^e L^d Baltimore & thy last wth the Kings order to the Mayor of London wee are in hopes

it will be of Service here our last Mo Meeting have apoynted Some freinds to goe & Discourse those y^t are Cheife in Authority here and to lay our Conditions of Suffering once more before them & to lett them See as many of those Inclosed papers thou sent us as may be for y^t Service and when wee have Rec^d theirre answere & Resolution thou may Expect freinds here will give thee a full acc^o of all theirre proceeding Deare G.F. I have this to add that thy Care & labour for our Inward & outward prosperity is acknowlegd amongst & by us all god will Reward thy labour of Love and Care for his people in thy owne bosome Deare G.F. y^t God may continue thy years long and many amongst his people I know is the desier of many thousands and of him who am thy friend & in my measure of gods Everlasting truth doe my Soule dearly salute thee & bid thee farewell

Richd Johns

[addressed] For Geo: Fox These

[endorsed] A letter from Mary Land to G.F. in 1688.

[A copy in the hand of Mark Swanner or Ellis Hookes]

LV

GEORGE ROFE to GEORGE FOX. *Amsterdam*,
23.iv.1659.

Deare George: my Love is unto thee in the truth where I desiere in my harte to be kept in Life & power of God . . . things heard Cheifely through holland are in good order, & meetings are for the most part pretty quiett, here is every first day a publique meetinge at this house, which is neare or aboute 3 quarters of a mille out of Amsterdam, & of Late there hath come severall greate men & have bene very quiet & moderat, & the truth hath a greater fame in this Contrie, as it hath had formerly, yett dare not much apeare openly to owne it, and in other Citties and places where frinds are things are in Like manner as heare amongst them well and many Inquerers and Some Lattely Convinced, who doth apeare in owninge the truth, [But Ann Gargill doth some mischief]¹ . . . this day came a

¹ these words struck through.

Letter out of Jermamy from W. Ames, hee writtes that frinds are in a good Condition there & have a good authoritie in the truth & that hee & John Higgins were with the prince of the contirie who semed to be very friendly to them & tooke it kindly that they came to see him & give him Such a present to witt Severall books of frinds, printed in the dutch tounge & bound up to gether, & that hee (William) is aboute Cominge away and Leaveing John Higgins there for a tyme amongst frinds. William Caton is at or aboute Rotterdam, he writts that things are well there, hee hath beine gone from this citty aboute a weeke, & about that time he went I came from rotterdam & other places that way where I was 2 or 3 weekes, much more I have not to writte only I thinke shippinge will very shortly be ready to goe from this Citty for America with which I hope to goe, and I shoulde be glad to heare from thee before I go if I could

Thyn in my measuer Geo: Rofe

Neare Amsterdam ye
23.4m. (1659).

[endorsed] G. Rofe to G.F. 1659.

LVI

MARYLAND FRIENDS to GEORGE FOX. *West River in Maryland*, 5.i.1686/7.

Deare George Fox

With our very deare Loves wee Dearly Sallute the whome we truly Love, & wee Receved thy Letter two Dayes sence baring date London ye 22th of ye 7th m^o 1686 with ye Inclosed Sertivicett from friends att Malburrow Concerning Benjamin Lawrence.

[Continues in complaint of B.L. who is "loose & vain" & is one of "Margaret Lynam's separate meeting" as at Malborrow, "burds of a fether flock together And in ye aire they fley". On 27.xii.'86/7, First-day, M.L. and Thomas Thurston came to a peaceable meeting at W^m Richardson's where M.L. spoke some hours, T.T., "in great Rage & Pashon in Kaines nature," disturbed a Friend speaking. Regrets having to report this "trash"

about the meeting at John Lynam's and also the conduct of T. Thurston which threatens brings a public scandal upon Friends, unless he can be cleared concerning his alleged marriage, or else denied by Friends ; he " hath for a Long time Rouled & Roufed from Place to Place & from Contry to Contry Vaggabond Licke . . . & abused Friends boath in England Barbados & in Maryland & Else wheare " Thinks Friends at London should issue a public testimony against him & those of his spirit. . . . Denies Maryland Friends owe Andrew Sole for printing, having paid him £10 sterling and later sent tobacco at current price to Ellis Hookes, for two consignments of books. For the future they will take George Fox's advice and pay for things through their London trading agents Hope that the letter will clear the matter up before Yearly Meeting & hope to hear from the Friends concerned].

In treu & tender Love wee Rest thy truly Loving Friends

Thomas Everndon
W^m Richardson
W^m Bary
Rich. Harrisson

Edward Talbott
Samll Gallaway
Frances Ballinglay

[addressed] For George Fox in London or Elsewhere,
these wth care

[endorsed] frends from Maryland to G.F. 1st mo.
1686/7. Read this in y^e 2^d dayes meeting.
Done 6.4mo.87.

LVII

RICHARD WALLER to MARGARET FELL. *Waterford Gaol*, 10.vi.1657.

Deare & tender nurseinge Mother often thou art in my remembrance my love unto thee in writinge I cannot expres who at first did beegit mee by the Imortall word of Life . . . let Thy prayers be for us y^t in the power & wisdome & Councell of the Lord we may be kept Continually . . . our testimony heare is not yeat finished, yeat it appears to mee that our freedome is not farr of.

[Speaks of a paper written which raises doubts in the mind of the sheriff as to legality of their imprisonment, without even a mittimus. They have been kept from meeting, and in close prison three weeks, are now permitted to go to meetings, controversy with Baptists by word and writings, read at a meeting at Kilkenny. Friends grow in Waterford.

At a meeting at Kilkenny after opposers heard], in the power dread and authority of the Lord I stood up and spoke a few words & they weare all silent upon a suden, many younge freinds wondred at it, the power is a strange thinge amongst them in many parts of this nation, & I see it is not words but power y^t stops the Mouthes of Gaynesayers So deare heart let thy prayers be for all who are faithfull laborers in the Lords vineyard, y^t in the power of the Lord we may be kept the witnes in all to reach the seed to rayse for many are so tormented y^t they desire the hills to cover them from the presence of the Lord & yeat their honour & plesures keepes them yt they come not into the obedience of the truth. And many was convinced in this nation And freinds not stayinge with them they comeinge to silent meetings many is famished for want of words & soe they not willinge to wayt in the silence are turned backe & so causeth the truth to be evill spoken of Strengthen my wife in my absence William Shawe is gone towards Corke & Elizeabeth Morgan Elizabeth Fletcher is yet in this towne, Shee intends to goe towards Corke this weeke I doe not hear of any y^t is in the north now but William Edmundson. The North is often in mee, when I was at Dublin & somethinge in me would gladly have gone to Englande to have seene George Fox but I was made subject to come here with Richard into this part of the nation. A few lines from thee would refresh mee, I desire to heare wheare G. F. is, salute mee to the Church in thy house, farewell. My yoke fellow salutes thee /

Thy babe who is a sufferer in bonds in the citty Gaole of Waterford.

Richard Waller

From the Citty Gaile in

Waterford this 10th of the 6th moneth 1657

[endorsed] From Rich Waller to M.F.

[by George Fox] 1657 Ierland

LVIII

JAMES PARNEL to FRANCIS HOWGILL and EDWARD
BURROUGH. *Brestoll*, 2.v.1655.

F.H. & E.B.

deare & Eternally beloved bretheren in the infinite Love
& life of god which doth abound to us & is mullteplyed in
us : in the pure love & life in which you dwell doe I dearely
sallute you my deare & neere & wellbeloved . . . deare
ones now I [am ?] at this citty well Every way in great
Sarvise the greatest is no[] that I have seene
niver such a meeteing for many as was yester-day in the
orchatt & the power of the lord was made manefeste & all
was still & in good order : but the heathens rage & Consulte
togither & I see they are laying sners for the inocente they
Even goe downe into hell to take councell & into the darke
to consulte : but the Lord will bring every worke to Judge-
ment & Every Seckeret thing.

[Continues with news of the publishing of truth, J.W.
& J.S. were at "Cainesome" meeting yesterday, they go
into Wiltshire. A.A. was at a meeting at Oulstone, she
sends her love, J.W. is gone to Banbury ; the writer has
heard from T.S. & M.H. at Exeter, They are well and
"weanes over the ragge of the heathen" ; T.R. was at
Exeter & intended for Plymouth ; Ambrose Rigge was
here & went towards him by Taunton where there is said to
be a "pretty people" ; A.A. & J.W. were there. Young
Margaret Fell and Sarah Fell are at Bristol. Friends in
the north grow.

The writer has been there and found much increase of
love towards Friends. He has been with T.A. who was
"hard and filthey," but Ann Wilson can relate] ; I spoke
sharp tirable words to him & he . . . resested the word
of the lord . . . but my conscience is cleared. M.F.
dearely sallutts thee & many friends . . . I was at F.H.
house, his wife is well & all he hath the blessing of god is upon.
I had meetings in lancashire, as I cam and the preseners there
I was with, they are well, & keep in patience & long
forbearance. I had a great general meeting at Will
Wandes . . . Thomas Law [Loe] one of Oxford is in
prison at Oxford & is kept in much wisdom . . .

The work hastens on apace Eternal glory and Everlasting praises be unto our God for evermore. Dear ones Ann Willson can declare to you of the Condition of frends in Every pertickler in the north buteyfull & lovely they are & the god of peace is with them. Salute me dearely to dear J.N. my soule breathes after him . . . I am with you in pure love . . .

J.P.

I was with the prisoners, . . . I had a meeting at banbury, friends there are well . . . & the[y] goe much to the steeple house & all [] is on fire more then ever : one man of the towne is in prison . . .

[addressed] For Francis Howgill or Edward Burrough These in London.

[endorsed] J.P. to E.B. & F.H. 1655.

LIX

EDWARD BURROUGH to GEORGE FOX. *Warwickshire*, 30.i.1658.

Deare Bro :

My love is great unto thee. I feel thee and reacheth to thee with the kind salulation of the same love with which I am beloved, & thou art deare to me & sealed in my life . . . Since I came from thee I have had good service for the truth in Warington. I had a very large meeting the whole towne came together to hear & they heard the word of the Lord diligently. And there came one high priest out of Cheshire & opposed a little & uttered forth his darkenes, & his shame appeared to all & Confusion was upon him, to the sight of himself, & it was a day of very good service ; y^e next day I had a very good day I had a very great meeting in northwatch there was very many friends from all parts of y^e county, and many of y^e townes people came and many was reffreshed by y^e word of y^e Lord, And y^e first day I had a great Meeting in staffordshire at y^e same place where y^e dispute was when I came into y^e north & I find a galent effect of y^t dispute, for abundance was y^t day Convinced, & at this meeting there were some hundreds of people all sober, & thristing after y^e lord, & I percave there is a generall Convincement in all that Country & great desires, since y^t dispute & very good service

is in itt for any freind, and it is much upon me y if & when T. Robertson or any other come south, y^t he or any may take a meeting or tow, for it is in y^e way neigh. And at Newcastle under line there is great desires about 6 mile from the place againe I am now near Coventry & purposes to passe into Oxfordshire, & have some meetings there. My love is great to all freinds, there & everywhere, & ye truth is my life, & y^e Increase of itt my hearts delight, this was upon me to writt to thee who art of me eternally beloved.

E.B.

[addressed] For the hands of G.F. these

[endorsed] From Edward Borrow to G.F.

[and by George Fox] E.B. to G.F. 1658

In glosed thes ar reten over

LX

FRANCIS HOWGILL to EDWARD BURROUGH.

[*Durham*, 1659.]

Very dearly and kindly I greete the in that which hath preserved & kept us above the world & hath given us dominion over it, which is our present refreshment In that which was befor all time, which god hath manifested and brought to Light in us. In which our present Joy & peace standeth & rest in the Lord, I have been a month & upward with J. A. in Northumberland Bishopricke & Cleveland wheir we have had very pretious service for the lord to the refreshing of god's Inheritance greatly which is very amiable & lovely in my sight & also many who weare Absents, have heard & have been Reached In Northumberland we had a fine meting wheir cam too prests one a prety high fellow, caled Bell that T. Turner hath had so much to do with. I was begun to declare before they came, I spoke 3 howers & keptt up the foundation of their deceite in doctrine & practise, they satt like dead men and their understanding was so confounded that they found not their hands at all, att last when I had cleared my selfe clearly I stode half a quarter of an hower, and not a word came from the priests : so that if one of their folowers had not asked a question I beleve they would have gone away & not opened their mouths : but then they gott a litle up & we desputed about an houre ; as for their Asertions, If I had time to relat them

unto the they would make the mery but in that I shall forbear at present, but they went away with shame: & left their people behind.

Att durham we had a great meting & att Darnton att Bowdon, Heighington, Shotton, Carlton, Stockdan. At Gisbrough a generall metting exeding Large, many freinds came of the woalds 40 or 50 miles and abundance of the world so that the towne was in Amasment & most of the prest people came & heard wilingly and a glorious day we had and many hartes truly made glad.

Att Northalerton we had a large meeting and at Richmond and yesterday we had a metting att Houghton in the Spring within 4 miles of Durham Itt lay upon us to cume backe to itt agayne: the prest & people is falen out, their was above a thousand people and we had made such a sound in the cuntry with meting that the Adversaries wher sore greved & the Comissioners had given order to breake the meting And the Asises being at Durham also, they sayd they were afrayed of sune Insurrection, & so their came a party of horse; we were Declaring and all was Calme & the power was over all: they stayed Calmely & heard 5 or 6 ho[u]res & so we broke up the meting in peace & Joy.

Humphrey N[orton] is Come into this County but only one day about 3 words, he is dark and subtill & bad so att or near our parting I spoke to him how I had receved letters from beyond sea & how [he] had done hurt, & bad him declare how things was If he was fre so he tould us all or most of your pasiges their We let him se his Fooly but he is hard & bad only he was under us & so we regarded him not He sayd he would be with us the last First day but he was not: but went into Cleveland, we being come out of it. His enmity is great against G.F. he said thou was more moderate to him in the end then thou was att the First, as though thou had repented of what thou had said to him, but he gathers things to keep up himselfe above Judgment.

I was att Anthony Pearsons one night, that sam[e] is growne a wicked lade & Is gone from all good into deceite. I pity Anthony their is a good thing in him. If he did keep out of the world's spirite, for that betrayes him & hurts him. However att present he is low & diligent at metings & bears a good stroke in the cuntry & if he did but keep in god's Dominion.

Heare is a greatt noyse in this cuntry of Rising but as yett all is quiete, but the prests hatches mischief into peoples minds. There is 5,000 up in Lankishire, which one Booth & Colonel Ireland heads by the instigation of the prests. They deny the Cavileares, and sayth they rise to defend the gossell agaynst seccts that is like to destroy it. Some of the Army is gone towards them. I shall now passe into westmorland being cleare heare Unto beloved G.F. greete me whose love I prise at noe small rayte: His letter I receved with rejoyseing & thanksgiveing; unto beloved Geratt salute me most dearely & unto Edward Cooke whome thou knowes is well beloved of me. I received thy letter att Richmond in an acceptable time in the moment of my departure the later end of the weeke I shall be about Kendall I will expecte to hear from thee for upon the I doe depend as thou hast conveniency

My unfeigned love to all Freinds in the City who Inquears after me, A.P. is not forgotten of me, Farewell, Thine

F.H.

[the next follows on the same sheet.]

WILLIAM CATON to EDWARD BURROUGH. *Durham*,
8.vi.1659.

Dear E.B. This was put into my handes by dear F.H. to seale and send to thee, And he desired thee to send thy Letter by Yorkeshire to Darenton in Bishopricke to be sent to him from thence to Kendall The last six day I came well ashore at Sunderland and their I mett with our dear bretheren F.H. & J.A. with whom I have now even very lately parted They are gone towards Westmorland and I to stay in these parts some time before I passe to Swarthmore, where (& thereabouts) I doe intend (God willing) to stay some Certaine time, . . . I hope thou Received mine from Yarmouth whereby dear G.F. with thy selfe [may] know something of my Returne. Benj. Furley is yet here, his love is to thee . . . Vale Thy dear bro.

W.C.

[addressed] For Edward Burrough at Gerrard Robertts
wine cooper in Thomas Apostles at the signe
of the Flower deluce in London

[endorsed] 59 to Edw. B. 1659.

Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1672-1938

The Story of Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938. Compiled by Anna Braithwaite Thomas. Baltimore, Md. Weant Press, 1938. pp. 142+xiii, map. Can be obtained from the Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. 6s.

AMONG the Quaker "Publishers of Truth" who carried their message across the Atlantic in the early days of the Society, was a woman Friend named Elizabeth Harris, who in 1656 visited Virginia where "her labours were blessed to many who were sincere seekers after heavenly riches". She was followed by others who were so successful both in Virginia and Maryland that there were soon many groups of Friends in both these provinces and also in the Carolinas.

Anna B. Thomas quotes S. B. Weeks as saying in his book, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* that "The Quakers . . . became towards the close of the seventeenth century the largest and the only organized body of Dissenters in these Colonies".

In 1672 John Burnyeat, an English Minister, who had had much useful service amongst Friends, called a Meeting at West River in Maryland which lasted four days and was attended by Friends and many others from all parts of the Province. George Fox was present and encouraged Friends to set up Meetings for Discipline and this "Great Meeting" at West River is reckoned as the first session of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.¹ This gives Baltimore a place as the second oldest Yearly Meeting in the United States (New England was established in 1661) and its story naturally includes many things which affected the whole life of American Quakerism.

We find also that Baltimore, although the smallest in numbers, has held an important place amongst the American Yearly Meetings because amidst the changes which have been adopted in many places with regard to the Ministry and the outward form of worship, it has kept more closely than most to the original type of Quakerism preached by George Fox and the early Friends. Also it was from Baltimore that the first great Quaker emigration to the West took place. It began in 1770 and by 1820 it was computed that no fewer than 20,000 Friends were then settled with their families west of the Alleghanies, where Ohio, and other new Yearly Meetings, were being established.

In the early colonial days negro slavery was accepted as a matter of course. Friends with others grew rich on the proceeds of slave labour, and the spiritual life of the Society declined. When John Woolman visited Virginia in 1746 he lamented that slavery "appeared as a dark gloominess hanging over the land". The awakening to

¹ Until 1790 called the "Maryland General Meeting".

the evil of the system and the difficulties and sacrifices which Friends had to meet, when they freed their slaves, are vividly described. We cannot be surprised that the process was a slow one, but by 1800 Friends throughout the American Colonies could report themselves "clear of holding slaves".

The War of Independence was also a severe testing time for Friends, but these troubles proved spiritually bracing, and at the close of the War the Society was in a more vigorous state than it had been for years.

Other interesting chapters in this book include extracts from an old Record Book of Women's Meetings in Maryland from 1677 to 1790, and from the journal of Rachel Wilson, an English Friend, who in 1768-9 travelled (mostly on horseback) nearly 2,000 miles visiting Friends in their Meetings on the Atlantic seaboard. Anna Thomas also gives us an account of the Hicksite and Wilburite separations and of the Civil War resulting in the enforced liberation of all slaves throughout the United States. After that we read of the splendid work carried on by Baltimore and other Friends in repairing the ravages of war and especially in starting schools both for their own members and for the freed slaves.

We are told of visits from many English Friends including Anna Braithwaite, Joseph John Gurney, Daniel Wheeler, John Pease, J. J. Neave, Joseph Crosfield, Joseph B. Braithwaite and many others.

Virginia, which was at first a separate Yearly Meeting, became in 1845 a part of Baltimore Y.M. After the Civil War this joint Yearly Meeting grew steadily both in numbers and in spiritual power. The numbers increased from about 500 in 1865 to over 1,000 in 1900. Short accounts are included of many of its leading members, Francis T. King, James C. Thomas and many others. F. T. King and J. C. Thomas took a leading part in the founding of the Johns Hopkins University and Hospital. At one time Dr. Rendel Harris and four or five other Professors or Lecturers were members of the Meeting. And so we come to the establishment of the Five Years Meeting, the building of the new Homewood Meeting House in Baltimore and the co-operation of the two Meetings, Park Avenue and Homewood in celebrating the 250th anniversary of Baltimore Y.M., an occasion to which Friends of all branches from all the American Yearly Meetings were invited, and which proved a time of happy fellowship.

In her concluding chapter Anna B. Thomas writes "In bringing these records to a close at a time when the world is full of confusion and fear . . . I do not feel discouraged about the future of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. There is still a living experience of the power and presence of Christ among us that means growth and victory."

ELIZABETH B. EMMOTT

The Annual Meeting

ON March 3rd, 1938, at Friends House, Arthur Raistrick, of Newcastle-on-Tyne gave, before a deeply interested audience, his Presidential Address on *The Social Policy and Work of the London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1692-1905*.

The industrial field is not the one most commonly explored for F.H.S. addresses. Although scarcely connected with the history of Friends as a Society, this company's social experiments provide a most interesting example of the application of religious conviction to business questions. Some of the most striking social work of this Quaker company was done at a time when the matter did not in most quarters receive anything like the regular attention which they gave to it.

The fuller history, of which the President's paper was but an abbreviated version, has since been published by the Historical Society as Supplement No. 19 to this *Journal*. It is selling extensively and members who have not secured themselves a copy should do so, at the special member's price.

A review with fuller particulars occurs elsewhere in this issue.

Account for the *Journal*, Volume xxxiv (1937)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward				Journal Friends' Hist.			
to 1937 ..	106	6	0	Soc., 425 copies ..	63	11	6
Subscriptions ..	75	7	0	Stationery ..	2	16	10
Sales ..	4	16	9	Postage and Sundries ..	8	5	0
				Annual Meeting ..	10	0	9
				Balance carried forward			
				to 1938 ..	101	15	8
	<u>£186</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>		<u>£186</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>

Examined with Books and Vouchers and found correct,

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND

28.ii.1938.

Current Literature and Additions to the Library

A selection of recent books and old books recently acquired are noticed here for their bearing on Quakerism past or present. Unless there is a note to the contrary a copy will be found in the Library of the Society of Friends in London.

Many of the books in the Library may be borrowed by Friends, and other applicants if recommended by a Friend. Apply to the Librarian, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Stocks of books regarding Friends are to be found for sale at :

Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends' Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Ind.

*Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare : The London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1692-1905. The social Policy and Work of the "Governor and Company for Smelting down Lead with Pit Coal and Sea Coal", mainly in Alston Moor and the Pennines. By Arthur Raistrick. (London, Friends' Historical Society, 1938, pp. 152, illus., maps. 6s., 4s. 6d. to members of F.H.S.) This, the nineteenth supplement to this *Journal* touches a field of Friendly interest and activity not often dealt with by the Historical Society. Nearly two hundred and fifty copies have been sold already. The history here offered covers at much greater length the subject of the author's presidential address at our last annual meeting in March, 1938.*

At a time when industrial labour conditions were on the whole very hard, and when an organized welfare movement lay in the still distant future, the London Lead Company was pioneering in that field. Its popular name, "The Quaker Company", derives from the fact that its founders and many of its later directors were Friends. Its mines were for the most part concentrated in a high, bleak moorland district, where Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire touch one another. Here in the middle of the eighteenth century, at Nent Head, rose a workmen's garden village.

To housing and gardens were added an association for providing corn at cost price when prices were high, a workmen's benefit fund, annuities, schools for workers as well as their children, libraries, lectures, reading rooms, a wash house and many recreational facilities. The company's medical officers were instructed to attend to all sick men and their families.

The company was also in the forefront in mining technique, maintained regular research work, and indeed its efficiency and its welfare work were interdependent. At the same time the return to investors of capital was always kept low, and is stated never to have exceeded $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Dr. Raistrick also deals briefly with the business side of the company's history, which came to an end in 1905 after sustaining a long period of decline owing to world changes in mining and marketing. But its social policy was maintained throughout.

The book makes available a most interesting piece of social and industrial history based entirely upon research into the original records of the company itself, chiefly the minute books of the court of governors.

The Minute Book of the Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends for the Upperville of Buckinghamshire, 1669-1690. Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes, by Beatrice Saxon Snell, M.A.(Lond.). Printed for the Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society; pp. xix, 253. The early minute books of Friends' Monthly Meetings for business give not only a picture of the corporate life of Friends, but shed light on social and political life of the late seventeenth century. Friends to-day are gainers by the decision of the Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society to make the first volume of minutes of "Upperville Monthly Meeting" their first publication. The district, in which Jordans is the best-known Meeting House, contained the homes and saw the coming and going of a number of famous Friends. The introduction by Beatrice S. Snell is a valuable addition to the volume. It describes the geography of the Monthly Meeting, Friends' organization and terminology and has notes on the leading Friends who appear in the minutes. They include Gulielma Penn, John Archdale, the first Friend elected to Parliament and Governor of the Carolinas, Samuel Jennings, Deputy-Governor of West New Jersey, Thomas Ellwood who was Clerk of the Monthly Meeting and wrote the minutes for the whole period of the volume, Isaac Penington, and others.

There are very interesting passages on the illustrations which the minutes provide of Quaker customs and principles and history, e.g. exact truthfulness, marriage, discipline, finance, persecution, separatists.

A succession of the minutes at almost any point in the volume gives a living picture of the cares, deliberations, triumphs and defeats through which the church government we know to-day was moulded.

It is to be hoped that both Meetings and Friends privately will support this venture of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society by purchasing copies.

People called Quakers. By Doris N. Dalglish. (Oxford University Press, pp. 170, 7s. 6d.) The Society of Friends has in Doris Dalglish a writer who has a keen appreciation of the catholic and mystical quality of essential Quakerism. This appreciation is combined with a marked distaste for the modernist protestant humanistic view of the religious life, a view which has in recent times exerted on Quakerism a marked influence, which in her opinion is to be deplored. Her incisive style and piquant judgments, employed with this bias, have made a book which contains more frank criticism of Quaker weaknesses than we are accustomed to from our own writers. It will displease some, but its occasional flashes of friendly malice do not destroy, though they may sometimes obscure, the value of her judgments.

After a long introduction on modern tendencies in the Society there follows a series of chapters on great Quaker characters of the 18th and 19th centuries. They include Thomas Story, "the first Quaker poet", John Woolman, Thomas Wilkinson, friend of Wordsworth, and himself a poet, Stephen Grellet, Caroline Stephen, and a number of lesser figures in the 18th century.

The chapters are not so much short biographies as character studies. The author has a quick perception of the qualities of her subjects and she employs plenty of well-chosen quotations from their writings. Her easy style gives us a book that is a pleasure to read and that should do much to kindle a livelier appreciation of what Quakerism meant to some of the great Friends of the past.

Penn. By Elizabeth Janet Gray. (New York: The Viking Press, pp. 298, illus. Obtainable from Friends Book Centre, London, 11s.) This attractive volume on the life of William Penn is designed to be read by young people who would not yet appreciate one of the standard lives. It succeeds in its purpose. It is well written and well produced, and the black and white drawings and pictorial end-papers by George Whitney all enhance its interest.

Children of Light. In Honour of Rufus M. Jones. Howard Brinton, ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. 416, 12s. 6d.) A volume of historical essays written in honour of Rufus M. Jones on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. They include papers on William Penn's *Christian Quaker*, by H. G. Wood; *William Penn, Constitution Maker*, by Francis R. Taylor; a comparison of William Penn and John Woolman as contrasting Quaker types, by Catharine C. Miles; *Edward Byllynge and Cornwall*, by L. Violet Holdsworth; *Edward Byllynge and New Jersey*, by John L. Nickalls; *Hebraica and the Jews*, and early Friends, by Henry J. Cadbury;

Latin Works of Friends, by Anna Cox Brinton ; *Mennonites and Quakers of Holland*, by William I. Hull ; *Joseph Hewes*, by Charles F. Jenkins ; *New England Quakers and Military Service in the American Revolution*, by Arthur J. Mekeel ; *Quakerism and Home Life in the eighteenth century*, by Isabel Grubb ; *The Quaker Contribution to the Old Northwest*, by Harlow Lindley ; *Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton*, by Janet Whitney ; *Timothy Nicholson*, by Walter C. Woodward ; *Stages in Spiritual Development as Exemplified in Quaker Journals*, by Howard H. Brinton. The volume opens with a sonnet by T. Edmund Harvey and concludes with a list of works by Rufus M. Jones. It is indexed.

George Fox Dig'd out of his Burrowes, Or an Offer of Disputation. . . . Roger Williams. (Boston : Printed by John Foster, 1676, 4to, pp. 327. Reprinted by the Narragansett Club, with an Introduction by Rev. J. Lewis Diman. Providence, R.I., 1872, pp. 503.) This exceedingly rare work has been secured in the Narragansett Club's reprint, and is now for the first time available, complete, to readers in the Library, which has only a fragmentary copy of the original edition.

Quakerism and Public Service chiefly between 1832 and 1867, being a study of the emergence of the Society of Friends and its members into social and political activities. By Erica J. J. Martineau. (Typescript, pp. 259.) The Library is indebted to Miss Martineau for a copy of this interestingly written study, which would attract a wider public if it could be printed. The author examines the reasons for the Society's eighteenth century aloofness from public affairs and traces the nature of and reasons for its gradual emergence into politics and local government through humanitarian activities. She also examines the kind of influence which Friends exerted. The two main chapters are on Friends in Parliament and Friends in Local Government. The latter examines the situation in four large Quaker centres, Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich and Darlington. Friends' work in connection with the Corn Laws and with Women's Suffrage are also discussed.

Chronique de la vie Quaker Française de 1750 à 1938. By Henry van Etten. (Paris Société Religieuse des Amis, 1938, pp. 316, 22 Fr.) The author, a Paris Friend, has gathered together from widely scattered sources a fine array of information relating to French Quakerism, French interest in Quakerism, and to the connections of English and American Friends with France. A brief sketch of the

earliest period mentions several tracts in French about Pennsylvania in the sixteen-eighties. Two by Penn himself are *Brief récit de la province de Pennsylvanie* and *Lettre de Monsieur Penn, propriétaire et gouverneur de la Pennsylvanie, contenant une description générale de la province, 8 août, 1683*. These and others were designed to attract French Protestants to the colony. The forerunners of French Quakerism in the 18th century, the establishment of Friends' meetings among the descendants of the Camisards in the south of France near the end of the century, brief lives of the leading figures and the life of the meetings during the 19th century occupy the main part of the book.

The work of Christine Dalencourt in Paris and the later growth of other meetings there since 1918, arising out of Friends' war relief work, and leading to the establishment of a Yearly Meeting, are all dealt with.

A large number of passages from original documents are printed, many of them in full. The *Chronicle* will therefore be an indispensable source of information to any writer attempting a shorter and more popular history. An index would have improved the book very much ; so also would the repetition as page headings of the chapter titles, instead of the book title.

Selected Mystical Writings of William Law. Edited with notes and Twenty-four studies in the Mystical Theology of William Law and Jacob Boehme. By Stephen Hobhouse. (C. W. Daniel, pp. 395, 8s. 6d.) Eleven years ago Stephen Hobhouse published *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*. Since then he has devoted much time to a fuller study of Law's teaching. The present work places within our reach selections from nine of William Law's mystical works. These are followed by the editor's notes, which besides offering explanations for the help of the general reader, show the connection between Law's ideas and teachings and those of Jacob Boehme and the main stream of Christian mysticism. These notes are a new feature to any edition of Law's writings. A series of twenty-four studies follows, designed to introduce the reader to the main features of mystical teaching from the earliest times.

The debt of both George Fox and William Law to Jacob Boehme, the essentially mystical character of Quakerism, and the vital importance of a wider understanding of and sharing of mystical experience if Quakerism is to survive as more than a decaying husk, all these render the present work one of special value to members of the Society of Friends. It is the author's hope that it may be kept within reach for use, occasionally if not frequently, in private and family devotions.

The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665. By William I. Hull. (Swarthmore College, Pa., 346 pp., illus., Friends Book Centre, 20s.) Dr. Hull here reaches the fourth volume of his series on Quakerism in Holland. After a preliminary survey of the ground in which the seed of Quakerism was sowed, he deals at length with the work of the two first sowers, William Ames and William Caton and collects, probably, more material about them than is to be found in any other single work. This is followed by shorter studies of other prominent Friends including Samuel Fisher, John Stubbs and half a dozen less known names of those who preached in Holland. The methods pursued in spreading Quakerism are described, meetings public and private, discussions, literature. The opposition and persecution met with, the impression made by the James Naylor incident and the places where the most converts were made, all these receive attention, and are described with ample use of original documents. The manuscripts reproduced as illustrations direct from negative photostats are unfortunate. The use of positives would have given the feeling of the originals better, and also have been more legible. But the book is generously illustrated, fully indexed and well produced, and it forms a worthy addition to the fine series of which it is the latest volume.

A South Down Farm in the Sixties. By Maude Robinson. (Dent, pp. 78, illus., 5s.) The author, whose volumes of stories about early quaker life are so much appreciated, here describes her own childhood on a large farm in Sussex not far from Brighton.

The distinctively Friendly features of the life, the visits to meeting, six miles distant, as well as the social habits and customs of that day are livingly and lovingly described. The photographs and drawings reproduced add to the interest of the volume.

William Penn's Early Life in Brief, 1644-1674. By Albert Cook Myers. (Published by the author, Moylan, Pa., U.S.A., 1937, pp. 83, illus., \$5.00.) This modest outline of the first thirty years of Penn's life recounts the facts with the brevity required by the limits of fifty-four pages of narrative. The reader must await a later volume for the treatment to be expected from the specialist. Three new points however have been noticed. A full inventory of the contents of each of twelve rooms (from the hall to the servant's bedrooms) provides material for a picture of the interior of the house at Walthamstow which Admiral Penn occupied in 1668. The source for the inventory is not given. Evidence for Penn's Dutch ancestry on his

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mother's side is provided from her father's and first husband's naturalization papers, 27 February, 1634-1635 (Irish Patent Rolls).

An authoritative outline for Worminghurst Place, Penn's Sussex home in the years following 1676, is provided in the enlargement of a sketch made for a survey dated 1707, the present ownership of which is not mentioned. There are fifty-four illustrations, most of them whole plates, besides a few facsimiles of writing.

Willam Penn his own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, 1683. By Albert Cook Myers. (Published by the author at Moylan, Pa., 1937, pp. 107, illus., \$4.00.) A. C. Myers here publishes that notable description of the Indians which William Penn wrote in August, 1683, ten months after his arrival in his colony. He incorporated it in his *Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders* (of Pennsylvania) which he published in the same year. Besides the original edition and its succeeding reprints, now very rare, it may be found in Penn's collected *Works*. A reprint of the original edition was made in 1881. The letter appears also in the selection of Penn's writings in *Everyman's Library*, London (1915) and in Albert Cook Myers: *Narratives of early Pennsylvania, W. New Jersey and Delaware*, New York, 1912, with notes similar to those in the new volume. The part dealing with the Indians survives in a MS. in Penn's own hand, and this MS. forms the basis of the present issue, which differs slightly from the preceding editions.

An appendix contains seventeen documents connecting William Penn and the Indians. They include letters by Penn, paragraphs from concessions and agreements, instructions to his agents, deeds of sale, receipts and other documents, all relating to Indians. Many of these are reproduced in facsimile as plates. There are some thirty illustrations in the volume, which is also indexed. Unfortunately it lacks a table of contents, though the illustrations are listed.

Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, a Study in Revolutionary Democracy. By J. Paul Selsam, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: University Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 280, 11s. 6d.) This is a detailed study, based upon original authorities, of the political struggle within Pennsylvania at the time of the American Revolution. The influences at work, as throughout American history, were immigration and the strongly democratic views of the frontier regions against the wealthier conservative element of the older settlements, in which in this case the Quakers figured so strongly.

Periodicals

Friends Quarterly Examiner, 1938. Cyril Barnard concludes his account of "Quaker Contributions to Medicine and Public Health" (pp. 69-86). Rufus M. Jones writes of the poet "Whittier's Fundamental Religious Faith" (pp. 97-118). "Some Personal Experiences" (pp. 296-311) is a short autobiography of Edward Grubb.

Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association (Philadelphia), Vol. xxvi, No. 2 (1937). This issue is in large part devoted to recent history and has accounts of Quakerism in the various parts of Europe, Asia and Africa represented at the Friends' World Conference at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1937. Anna B. Hewitt completes the long list of Quaker names in the Dictionary of American Biography. The Dictionary is now complete in 20 volumes. Previous instalments have been appearing since 1929. Vol. xxvii, No. 1 (1938) continues the series on Quakerism through the world, with an article on Cuba. William Hull contributes a full account of all the variants he has discovered of Egbert van Heemskerk's painting called "The Quaker Meeting". Nineteen different paintings and engravings of this subject are illustrated, nine of them are to be found in the picture collection at Friends House. The author discusses the possibility that the large version of the picture, well known through engravings, may contain portraits of a number of leading Dutch and English Friends in the late 17th century. He has appended to the article a note by the Librarian at Friends House taking a more sceptical view of this possibility. Yet another of the same pictures is described and illustrated in the following issue, No. 2. In the same number Franklin Currier, bibliographer of Whittier, writes of the poet's Philadelphia friends in 1838. Arthur J. Mekeel tells the story of the separation of the Free Quaker Movement in New England on account of the American Revolution.

Quakeriana Notes No. 7, prints the diary of Samuel Morris when a student of Haverford College, 1842-1843; and Henry J. Cadbury describes a volume of original William Penn letters to Holland which are in the college library.

Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings, 1938, contains among other articles a defence of John Wesley's wife. Methodist historians generally have referred ungently to her on account of the known

dissensions between them. The standard edition of *Wesley's Letters* provide evidence that the difficulties did not all arise from her qualities or conduct.

In the *Baptist Quarterly*, 1938, *The Great Raid of 1670*, by Dr. W. L. Whitley (pp. 247-251), deals with proceedings under the second Conventicle Act in which Friends along with other dissenters suffered heavily in London. A. C. Underwood, in *The Permanency of Religion* (pp. 268-78), examines the prospects of Non-Conformity in the world to-day. He concludes that our close connection with Capitalism has been a mixed blessing, and that the churches must do three things if they are to prosper: 1. Make it clear that we are not tied up with any particular economic structure. 2. Set greater store by a teaching ministry. 3. Rise to a truer conception of worship than that which generally prevails among our people. In these tasks Friends need to share.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. lxii (1938). Robert Falk (pp. 52-63) discusses "Thomas Paine: Deist or Quaker?" The two religious positions are compared, in their similarities and differences, and Paine's views on matters theological and social are examined in this light. The author concludes that the creed of Paine was the purest deism but that many of his reforming and humane activities were strongly influenced by his Quaker upbringing. Edward D. Snyder (pp. 140-61) describes two volumes of manuscripts and pictures relating to John G. Whittier. They have been placed on permanent loan in the Quaker Collection at Haverford College and should be of great value to any future biographer of the poet. The volumes were compiled by Elizabeth Nicholson of Philadelphia with the collaboration of Elizabeth Lloyd, Elizabeth Smith and the poet's sister Elizabeth, all close friends of Whittier. They contain many poems and notes by Whittier, some of them unpublished, and a number of letters to Elizabeth Nicholson from him and from his sister. Tradition in her family holds that Whittier wanted to marry her but was refused.

"Social History of Pennsylvania, 1760-1790," by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (pp. 281-308) offers an interesting picture of contrasting influences in the colony during the generation following the abdication of Friends from the government. The Quaker influence was exercised, as might be expected, for general sobriety, education and science, but not much in art.

Among philanthropic efforts there was a Quaker institution called "the Bettering House, where the poor, crippled, orphaned, vagabond and disorderly were received and put to work" for their improvement. During the revolutionary war the house was taken by the military

and Friends gave up their Fourth Street Meeting House for the poor. In the matter of semi-public benevolent institutions Pennsylvania excelled other colonies.

The abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania in 1780 was a Quaker triumph. Their influence, strong in 1760, had seriously declined before the end of the century under the host of new and foreign ideas coming in, many of them more democratic and equalitarian. But the author states that "the Quakers and Germans had always associated with their laborers on terms of equality, and negro workers sat at John Bartram's table". The loyalist sympathies of most Friends contributed to weakening their popular influence.

The work of Benjamin West the painter in his early period, before he left America for Italy and England, is described and appraised by William Sawitzky.

Congregational Historical Society, Transactions, Vol. xiii, No. 2 (1938), give an account of the arrangement, cataloguing and rehousing of the early records of the London Missionary Society. They include many letters from the eighteenth century.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Journal, Vol. vi, No. 2, contains an interesting article on the various "Stranger Churches" as the churches of the various Dutch, French, Flemish and other continental colonies in London were called.

Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions, Vol. vi, No. 4, October 1938, concludes the valuable account of Thomas Firmin (1632-1697), a wealthy London manufacturer and active philanthropist, who spent the last twenty years of his life almost entirely in works of charity. He was acquainted in middle life with William Penn, but unfortunately doctrinal and perhaps temperamental differences estranged them permanently. An account of their controversy is given.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Transactions, Vol. lii (1937), contains a life of Roger Haydock of Coppull, by Rev. T. C. Porteus, with shorter notices of his elder brother John and his son Robert, and the full text of ten letters preserved by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Roger Haydock, of a family of freeholders, was born in 1643 and became a Friend in 1667. He suffered imprisonment for non-payment of tithe and for preaching. After a visit to Holland and Germany in 1681, he was married in 1682 to Eleanor Lowe, also a minister. A second visit was paid to Holland and Germany in 1686. He was with William Penn in London and Amsterdam, and he also travelled widely in the ministry in England. His wife continued her own visits after marriage.

Nine of the letters are addressed to the writer's intimate friend, Phineas Pemberton of Lancaster, the remaining letter is to Roger Longworth. They tell of his imprisonments, journeys, and business affairs besides references to family matters. In 1674 he is a prisoner in the same room in Lancaster Castle where previously Margaret Fell was confined. In 1681 he speaks of being invited to the marriage of Sarah Fell and William Mead. When Phineas Pemberton emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682 his friend spoke in his interest with William Penn. The letter to Roger Longworth (No. viii, 1686), gives some account of his second visit to Germany. Roger Haydock died in 1696. His public work had lasted over twenty-four years, in which time he travelled 33,727 miles and ministered at 2,609 meetings. His widow lived till 1723. His son Robert emigrated to Flushing, Long Island, in 1743.

Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. xii (1937), prints several addresses given at the Third Mennonite World Conference at Amsterdam, July, 1936. Mention may specially be made of the interest of that on *Mennonites and Culture* in No. 2. The parallel attitudes of Mennonites and Friends are notably pacifism, and a concentration on the practical aspects of life, farming, industry and commerce.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of *Presbyterian Historical Society (U.S.A.), Journal*; and of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*.

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